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Newspaper Notes 17 Nov Demonstration

AU2111114689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Nov 89 pp 1,6

[Report by Katya Yaneva, Stanislav Kolev, and Stoyan Sirakov: "Hope and Enthusiasm In Sofia's Streets"]

[Excerpts] Sofia, 17 November— This day will remain forever in the memory of the people, more than 100,000 Sofia citizens, who came to the square in front of the National Assembly and the streets in the vicinity, and those who watched from the windows and balconies of the buildings. It will remain forever in the memory of all Bulgarian people who followed with unprecedented attention the events during the 7 days after the 10 November plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP].

It was almost 1600 local time. The National Assembly session ended a few minutes earlier. The northern entrance of the National Assembly building was tightly surrounded by thousands of people. They came to participate in the meeting of the Sofia public in support of restructuring, initiated by the Fatherland Front's committees of political and social forces in Sofia.

Suddenly exclamations erupted: "We congratulate you!," "Bravo!," and "Courage!" The people stirred. Densely surrounded, almost pressed by the rejoicing people, Comrade Petur Mladenov headed on foot toward the building of the BCP Central Committee. Dozens of people tried to shake his hand. From time to time Petur Mladenov stopped, responded to the greetings, and talked with the citizens. Voices could be heard in the background: "We are with you." A woman with a bunch of flowers succeeded in reaching Petur Mladenov and handed him the flowers. Voices could again be heard: "Now we believe that restructuring will succeed." "On 10 November you gave Bulgaria hope." "The people are with the party!" "We shall march together with the people," Comrade Mladenov answers. "Success! Success!" "We shall succeed only if we are united," he answered the people.

This was a pure manifestation of the people's confidence in the road outlined by the BCP Central Committee November Plenum. This was an expression of confidence that there is a Communist Party which has the necessary power and stamina, and which can lead the people at such a crucial moment.

The "siege" in front of the National Assembly entrance continues. When the white-haired figure of Slavcho Trunski emerged the enthusiasm again erupted.

The meeting began at the National Assembly square. [passage omitted] The speakers followed each other: Nevena Georgieva, Slavcho Trunski, Dobri Dzhurov. [passage omitted]

The participants in the meeting adopted a declaration, which reads:

"Gathered at a mass meeting in front of the building of our parliament, we, Sofia's citizens of all generations and professions with the sense of being equal people say firmly 'yes' to accelerating restructuring.

"We support the new party and state leadership, and its course toward conducting policy, whose prime target is man and his real rights.

"We are determined to restore the real values of socialism, pose universal values above all else, and obliterate nepotism, leveling, the absurd practice of separating and opposing social strata and groups, and injustice.

"We shall struggle for a pure moral atmosphere in society, civilized relations, pluralism and tolerance of different opinions, and conditions in which every member of our society could fully develop his innermost qualities and talents.

"We shall strive to master the achievements of human civilization without prejudices.

"Our struggle for democratic and humane socialism will be open and conducted in front of everyone's eyes—it will be conducted with the weapons of glasnost, self-criticism, and real democracy, and upon the principles of the law-governed state and real people's self-management.

"We are aware of the complex character of the problems that face us, and understand that discipline and toil, on the part of all of us, and manifested in a conscious and pure manner, are necessary for their solutions.

"Now more than ever before it is necessary to demonstrate willpower, a sense of responsibility, civic order, and consciousness. The time calls us to work and deeds, and unity and democratic legal order, for Bulgaria's prosperity and the bright future of our children." [passage omitted]

Work Stoppage at Sofia Plant Settled

AU2111192189 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 21 Nov 89

["Workers' Demands Satisfied"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 21 (BTA)—Today on the insistence of the labour collective at the Teleprocessing Systems Plant, subdivision of the INCOMS Company, the production process was suspended for more than two hours and a meeting with the leadership of the plant on problems that had gathered to a head was provoked.

The discussion was prompted by the workers' discontent with the existing system of paying bonuses to the regular personnel of the plant. Other questions were also raised in connection with the formation of the wages fund at the company, the numerical strength of the administration, the way of determining which social activities should be financed by the collective, the criteria of evaluating the result of each person's work.

The work at the shops was resumed after an announcement was made of the leadership's decision to keep the money for the additional stimulation of the regular personnel in the wages fund and to distribute it at the end of the year after revising the evaluation of labour results.

Mladenov Meets With Sofia City BCP Aktiv

AU2111203089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Today a meeting took place between Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and chairman of the State Council, and the aktiv of the Sofia City BCP organization. Comrades Nacho Papazov and Ivan Stanev took part in the meeting.

Opening the meeting, Mincho Chuntov, secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, characterized the profound social changes that had ensued following the November plenum and, more specifically, the problems posed for the Sofia Communists to solve.

Stefan Ninov, chairman of the Executive Committee of Sofia City People's Council, gave a briefing on the fulfillment of the main economic and social indexes in the capital. He laid emphasis upon the continuing negative trends.

The secretaries of primary party organizations, members of party committees, and other party activists that spoke gave a truthful assessment of the alarming phenomena in society. They unanimously rejected the outdated methods and supported the policy of renewal, which in recent days had given a qualitatively new direction to the processes in Bulgaria. Stress was placed on the mass enthusiasm of the population for the transformations being carried out, and the faith of the working people in the party's capability, in the present difficult situation caused by the distortions, to find the right path of national unity for the further successful building of socialism in Bulgaria.

Speaking to those taking part in the meeting, Comrade Petur Mladenov spoke about the profound reasons for the contradictory situation that had been created in the country, which led to the convening of the plenum of 10 November and the decisions adopted by it. Against this background, he outlined the main directions for the course of restructuring, stressing the necessity for the party's fundamentally renewed approach toward the problems of socioeconomic life.

He pointed out the party's specific tasks in the conditions of democracy and glasnost, on the solution of which the reinforcement of the party's leading role in society depends.

Law on Amnesty Adopted by National Assembly

AU2111135589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Nov 89 p 3

["Law on Amnesty"]

[Text] Article 1 An amnesty is declared for those who have committed crimes under Article 273 of the Penal Code.

Article 2 (1) Persons who have committed crimes under Article 273 are no longer subject to prosecution, serving their penalty, or suffer consequences because of being sentenced according to Article 83 of the Penal Code.

(2) Property and fines that have been confiscated, seized, or collected on the basis of Article 53 of the Penal Code and sentences issued before the publication of this law are not to be returned.

(3) Property and money related to pending cases of crimes under Article 273 of the Penal Code are to be returned to the relevant persons, except in cases in which the acquisition or possession of the property and money is banned, or in cases in which the property and money are subject to seizure under another law.

(4) Pending executive acts on fines imposed on crimes under Article 1 are discontinued.

Additional and concluding instructions.

1. Disputed issues that emerged in connection with the application of this law are to be resolved by the court which has issued the sentence or which reviews the specific case.

2. The law is effective from the date of its publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.

3. The minister of justice and minister of internal affairs are responsible for the implementation of this law.

Law Amends Code

AU2111141689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Nov 89 p 3

["Law on amending the Penal Code"]

[Text] Published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK issue No. 26, 1968; amendment, issue No. 29, 1968; amendments and addenda issue No. 92, 1969; issues No. 26 and 27, 1973; issue No. 89, 1974; issue No. 95, 1975; issue No. 3, 1977; issue No. 54, 1978; issue No. 89, 1979; issue No. 28, 1982; amendment, issue No. 31, 1982; amendments and addenda, issue No. 44, 1984; issues No. 41, and 79, 1985; amendment, issue No. 80, 1985; addenda, issue No. 89, 1986; addenda, issue No. 90, 1986; amendment, issue No. 37, 1989.

1. Article 273 is repealed.

Concluding instruction:

2. The law is effective from the day of its publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.

Scientist Discusses Ecoglasnost Movement

AU2111150989 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 16 Nov 89 p 2

[Interview with Senior Scientific Fellow Petur Beron, candidate of biological sciences and head of the Zoology Section of the Natural History Museum, by Svetla Lefterova and Atanas Tsonkov. Individual questioners not identified: "The Eye of Public Control" given on 9 November in Sofia]

[Excerpts] [Question] This interview took place on 9 November 1989, but it would hardly have been published, if the great event in our country's life had not taken place on the next day. At that time, however, in Petur Beron's small office, filled to the ceiling with books and manuscripts, we could not even hope for such a prompt and promising change of circumstances. Nevertheless, Petur Beron's words remain still valid today. He said: "I do not believe in change without efforts, without victims, without movement. The majority of the people are waiting, but there is no one to do our job." [passage omitted]

[Question] What does Ecoglasnost represent and what is it fighting for?

[Beron] The idea was to create an organized forum, or a movement, which is fighting for several issues: In the first place—for total glasnost related to ecological information, so that the mark of secrecy should be eliminated and the right of every citizen to have access to such information and to ensure healthy living conditions for himself may be guaranteed. In the second place, we are fighting for advance ecological experts' opinions to be submitted on projects likely to affect the environment in the future, and for these opinions to be independent from administrative and state institutions. In the third place, we intend to control the implementation of such projects so that they may be implemented exactly according to the initial intentions. In other words: Ecoglasnost should be the public eye checking on everything that administrative departments and the state are doing in the ecological sector. [passage omitted]

[Question] When was Ecoglasnost established?

[Beron] It is a follow-up organization stemming from the Committee for the Ecological Rescue of Ruse. The committee was brutally dissolved, but a more persevering group was formed in February 1989, which continued to insist that measures should be taken on this issue. In April 1989 the constituent members, including me, signed the statute of the new association and it was submitted for registration to the Sofia City Court of Justice. Following 3 months of delays, the registration was rejected, without any significant arguments in our opinion. We contested the decision and appealed to the Supreme Court whose decision we are now awaiting.

[Question] How many members does Ecoglasnost have, and what kind of people are participating in this organization?

[Beron] At this moment we have over 800 applications for membership which we shall deal with at future meetings. For the time being, we have over 300 members who are scholars, most of them in the field of humanities. Many artists are also among our members. Petur Slabakov, an actor, is our chairman, and the philosopher Aleksandur Karakachanov is our executive secretary. The idea is not to establish some sort of academy, or a secret organization, but to attract public attention to the fact that experts' opinions in the ecological sector are being disregarded, that violations occur in the procedures of adopting decisions and in applying them. This affects everyone of us and everyone is involved in this issue.

[Question] Should this not be the role of the mass media?

[Beron] They are much too dependent, while we are not. They are told what to write, and they write. If they are ordered to be silent, they keep silent, while we continue to speak when we are told to stop talking. This is the difference between us.

[Question] What are the most frequent accusations against you?

[Beron] I heard all sorts of accusations. If we were some sort of extremist, terrorist organization we would not publicize our activities. All our activities are well known and public. We are not some sort of secret Massonic Lodge, but an open, nationwide organization, accessible to everyone, and everyone is entitled to know absolutely everything we are doing. Numerous other insinuations exist related to certain figures who are members of Ecoglasnost....

[Question] Such as?

[Beron] Slander is being spread about some members of the executive council, such as myself, implying that we are children of defendants at the People's Tribunal [in 1944-45]. I even heard that the "Petur Beron" Cinema allegedly was a nationalized, former property of my family (!). The truth is that the majority of Ecoglasnost aktivists are Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] members and children of veteran party cadres and of meritorious resistance fighters.

[Question] Can Ecoglasnost be called a party?

[Beron] By no means! A basic difference exists between a "green" party and an independent ecological organization. [passage omitted] Even if a "green" party should be established in Bulgaria one day, Ecoglasnost shall continue to exist as an independent organization. This is so, because a political party aspires to play a role in the political system, while we are not aspiring to this. Over 1,000 organizations, similiar to ours, exist in the Soviet Union and in nearly all socialist countries, with the exception of Romania.

[Question] Does this mean that Ecoglasnost is an apolitical organization?

[Beron] The fact that we are not fighting for participation in the government, that we are not a political party, and have no ambitions to become such does not signify that we have no stand on the current processes under way in our society. On the contrary, we have a very definite opinion, since the solution of ecological problems greatly depends upon the solution of other issues. They are related to the method of adopting decisions and exerting control on the government, to the monopoly over our comprehensive social life and upon the press, to censorship, and all these things are closely linked with ecological issues. Hence, we are not an apolitical institution, but an independent, non-political organization—and these are two different things.

[Question] Is there any reason to accuse you of intending to change the state government?

[Beron] We are pursuing our struggle within the framework of the Constitution and we do not intend to change the existing political system in our country. We are by no means struggling against the socialist system, but against the established structure of power, against the monopoly over social life. We think that this should be changed in order to obtain true pluralism which does not exist in our country today. It is necessary to recognize the independent organizations and to grant freedom for the expression of alternative opinions. Only in such case we can talk about pluralism.... [passage omitted]

[Question] What about the main ecological problems in our country?

[Beron] As Docent Petko Simeonov says: "It is a question of social pollution...."

[Question] Is it true that our country is one of the leading countries in nuclear pollution in Europe?

[Beron] This is, unfortunately, true.... The soil pollution is extremely severe and the same applies to the waste or arable land, as well as to the pollution of our rivers, which has reached dramatic dimensions. The situation of the Black Sea is also very grave.

[Question] What is your opinion on the draft law for the protection and regeneration of the environment that is currently under discussion?

[Beron] We have agreed on a common stand of Ecoglasnost which we submitted to the National Assembly. It is particularly important to eliminate the "wishful thinking paragraphs." Things should be stated in a categorical manner, and it should be stressed that ecological information must be published and become accessible to the public.

Artist Svetlin Rusev's 'Unpublished' Article

AU2111191989

[Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 18 November carries on page 3 a 1,000-word article by Bulgarian artist and former chairman of the Bulgarian Artists Union, Svetlin Rusev, entitled "Old Reincarnations in New Thinking," dealing with National Assembly deputies being afraid of voting against government projects. As the author explains in 200-word postscript, he wrote the article on 21 August 1987 "on a special occasion," which he does not further explain, and it was rejected by all of the newspapers at that time.

Rusev describes the case of an unnamed female National Assembly deputy, whom he consistently refers to as the "woman." However, since the photograph of a portrait, painted by the author, of the Bulgarian national gymnasts' team trainer Neshka Robeva is inserted next to the article, one can assume that she is the woman to whom he refers. The article does not provide any specific details about the issue that the National Assembly discussed, which only the woman in question voted against. However, since Robeva, like the author himself, was known to be a supporter of the Ruse ecological movement in 1986-87, it is evident that ecological issues were involved.

Rusev dramatically describes how the other National Assembly deputies avoided talking to or shaking hands with the woman after the session, and how all of them, though convinced that she was right, voted in favor of the project, motivated by "fear, which is an unexplicable phenomenon, fear which closes our eyes and freezes our hearts to stone, fear which divides people, which originates distrust and cowardice," he adds.

Rusev also analyzes the feelings of the "national poet" who, rather than being afraid, "was disciplined and on many occasions fulfilled his party obligation, being once more infallible and aware that there is no point in objecting when things have been already decided." He also describes an old general, "the chairman of a creative union," and the "hero of socialist labor" who all shared the woman's views and even secretely congratulated her on her courage, but refused to do so in public.

In his postscript Rusev adds: "I would not have submitted this article to the newspapers again if many of the heroes of this story and their like, because of their short memory, or their lack of a sense of decency, or on the basis of an established tradition, deprived of all emotional scruples and moral reticence, were not trying again to emerge on the crest of the social wave."

Problem of Goods Shortages Discussed

AU2111160289 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 47, 20 Nov 89 p 4

[Article by Asen Michkovski: "With No Illusions or False Idols"]

[Excerpts] Over the years the declaration of an anathema on market policy, economic independence, and workers' private property created the illusion of the unique nature of the socialist economy, severed the link of historical continuity, and made our society a captive of its own economic and ethical egocentrism. Over a lengthy period our economic practice rejected achievements and mechanisms that today have become part of universal human civilization. Against this background, the value criteria for motivating people to work were refashioned, which resulted in them quickly acquiring an ingrained feeling that everyone was on the same level, as well as arousing intolerance toward others' prosperity. Economic and social infantilism became a universal phenomenon. [passage omitted]

The destruction of workers' private property and collective forms of property and the practice of making state property an end in itself, with the administrative-command style of economic management that arose from this naturalization of economic relations, produced one of the most demoralizing phenomena in our everyday life, namely shortages of goods. The phenomenon of goods in short supply is in essence amoral, and it inspires feelings of social inadequacy. It makes man lawless, leads to compulsive buying, overstocking, and the purchase of unnecessary articles, or of necessary articles in unnecessary quantities, but always with the idea that they may become useful. Thus the vicious circle is completed: Shortages give rise to unreasonable purchases, which in turn make the shortages more acute. The shortages are amoral, and therefore destroy self-interest. Money earned from labor loses its meaning when one is compelled to postpone consumption by many years, such as acquiring an apartment or a car, making a trip abroad, and so on. It is amoral, and therefore gives rise to "under-the-counter law," which obliterates the distinction between the lev honestly earned and the one obtained by dishonest scheming. What is more, shortages cause honestly earned money to be regarded as inferior to money gained dishonestly. They stimulate a striving for privileges and exaggerate the value of the privileges themselves. When goods are in short supply, the utilization of social position for obtaining supplies, holidays, and medical care is reinforced by privileges. In the hands of members of the nomenklatura, banknotes acquire a two-fold power because they can be used to obtain goods in short supply. Shortages stimulate production of below-standard products and increase the "all-devouring nature" of the market; this causes a lowering of the criteria applied in meeting needs, and eventually leads to a deterioration in quality and in the regeneration of the work force.

Thanks to its flexibility and speedy reaction to social needs, workers' private property, alongside the collective forms of property, provides the essential nests of production which in the past have solved our consumer problems caused by inadequate production and shortages of goods, and which are capable of solving them now to a very large extent. In this context, our country's sad experience in the field of agricultural production is especially instructive. The unjustified nationalization of agriculture lies at the root of our present difficulties in ensuring supplies of agricultural products. According to existing assessments, over the past 25 years 2,260,000 decares have disappeared from the stock of cultivable land, which, at the average valuation of 30,000 levs per decare, means that Bulgaria has lost about 67.5 billion leva over this period, i.e., an amount equal to twice our national income last year. The main reason for this is that people have been driven away from the land and even cut off from the land as a result of the establishment by force of forms of property and management that are unsuitable for our conditions and traditions. [passage omitted]

Journalists, Other Unions Support Changes

AU2111210089 Sofia BTA in English
1855 GMT 21 Nov 89

["Changes Approved and Supported"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 21 (BTA)—The Executive Board of the Administrative Council of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists today called upon all journalists to actively work for the restructuring, for the removal of everything which hinders creativity. "We call for powerful, honest and competent words aimed at closing the ranks of the public in the name of the renewal of socialism," it is said address.

The persistent demands for broad openness, high professionalism, culture and competence are justified. The press, radio and television are not and cannot be the highest instance of truth, the address goes on to say. The journalists are called upon to observe the ethics of dialogue "in the exchange of different views and positions." Now work in deed is needed in the support of the restructuring and for correct and timely political reaction to the attempts to break law and order in the society and to undermine the basic values and achievements of socialism, it is said in the address.

The Federal Council of the Forestry Trade Union Federation, whose membership is more than 130,000 people, sent an open letter to the National Assembly, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and to the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. The letter expresses categorical support for the changes in the BCP leadership and the state. It is underlined that the relations between the party, the state, economic bodies and trade unions should be based on the principle of the independent exercise of their law-determined rights and duties to the socialist society. The federation declares itself to be for "independent and autonomous trade unions built upon professional and democratic principles, the main purpose of which should be the protection of working people's interests".

The Central Council of the Bulgarian Union of Tourism also came out with a declaration in support of the restructuring.

Komsomol Leadership Expresses Support for Changes

AU2211085789 Sofia BTA in English
0807 GMT 22 Nov 89

["DKMS Supports Restructuring"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—Yesterday's plenum of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communists League (DKMS) expressed clearly and categorically its full support to the new party and state leadership in this country, to the course of real restructuring in all spheres of life undertaken by it.

At present Bulgaria is living through something deep and real, the outdated model of development is being rejected decisively, stressed before the plenum Mr Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. He pointed out that what is important in the present political situation in Bulgaria is the mass and spontaneous support to the undertaken course.

The participants in the plenum focused their attention on the determining of the role of the DKMS in the new conditions, on the working out of strategy and tactics in support of the new.

As it was said by Mr Evgeni Uzunov, first secretary of the CC of the DKMS, we are parting with schemes and dogmas, we are filled with happiness and hopes for which we must work. A radical change in our union is necessary, we should get free of everything unnecessary, of formalism, we must lead real political struggle corresponding to the interests of youth.

The participants discussed the questions of the cooperation between the DKMS and the BCP, between the DKMS and the state, the problems of pluralism inside the DKMS itself and the society as a whole in this connection it was pointed out that the DKMS supports all groups fighting for innovation in the frameworks of socialism.

The conclusion about the constantly growing activity among all layers of the population was complemented with the assertion that the processes among youth are undergoing even more active development which is proved by the new youth organizations.

This plenum sets the beginning of an all-youth discussion about the future of the DKMS, noted Evgeni Uzunov.

Mr Andrey Lukanov added that the youth should discuss and decide how it sees future Bulgaria, what it wants her to be.

The speeches at the plenum answered: socialist, law-abiding and democratic.

The resolutions of the plenum, which is continuing, will be transmitted separately.

Todorov Speech at Ninth National Assembly

AU1711143189 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1302 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Speech by Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, at the 11th session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia on 17 November —live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies,

Today we elected Comrade Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] State Council chairman. Let us congratulate him and wish him fruitful work in the republic's highest office, for the benefit of the Bulgarian people. Let us say to him that he will have the total support of the National Assembly and its members in the implementation of his responsible duties. [applause]

I would also like to express on your behalf complete satisfaction with the speech he made after he was elected, which indeed was a program for restoring the sovereignty of the National Assembly. [applause]

Comrade, this is the first session of parliament following the two November plenums of the BCP Central Committee, which were crucial for the fate of restructuring. From a certain point of view those plenums are of historic importance, because they decided to block the cult and the cult mania [kultovshtinata], and the use of administrative-command methods in the state and the party. Now our people expect the processes of renewal to be implemented throughout all our public life, not just in word but in deed. They expect that glasnost and pluralism will finally achieve free scope.

Conditions are being created for restoring the sovereignty of the National Assembly as the supreme organ of government, as the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria commands. It is no secret to anyone that the National Assembly was deliberately made faceless and deprived of its rights. Even the slightest possibility for creativity and initiative was taken away from it. Everything, down to the most negligible things, was decided by other organs and services. For a period of 8 years the members of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria did not deign to report to their nation and the parliament that elected them. They violated the constitutional requirement for an annual report on the part of the government. This was done despite my explicit requests and attempts to include this issue in the plan for the National Assembly's work throughout these 8 years.

Regardless of everything else, I would like to say that it is well-known who was opposed to the government's being responsible to the National Assembly. Regardless of our insistence, issues related to the educational system, the state of the environment, environmental protection, and other vital issues of great importance for society and the state were not included on the agenda of the National Assembly sessions. For many years laws were changed and normative acts were adopted by decrees of the State Council. The legislative activity of the parliament was essentially and totally blocked. The hallowed building of the National Assembly, which is called upon to be the conscience of the nation, has tired of the formal approach that was imposed on it. May it happen that, in the future, arguments and disagreement resound in its halls, as well as creativity and various solutions and bold proposals that will create hope among the people. Only then will they believe us and start to work enthusiastically —everyone in his place. This session is the first step toward this direction.

I will permit myself to say that all my attempts to present my considerations, orally or in written form, were ignored. No action was taken on those issues.

Do not think that as National Assembly chairman it was easy for me to work under such conditions. This was the reason that 18 months ago I resigned as chairman of the National Assembly. At that time the Politburo and Todor Zhivkov, then chairman of the State Council, did not accept my resignation, and I was compelled to withdraw my resignation and remain in the National Assembly.

Now is the time to fundamentally change things. This is imperative. Let us create the practice that the National Assembly discusses the basic issues of the country's life in detail and not formally, as is normal for every law-governed and civilized state.

The National Assembly session must not be rushed through in a day or two, under instructions from the top, but continue for as long as is necessary in order to thoroughly discuss the plan, budget, and other issues of the country's domestic and foreign policy.

I appeal to you, comrade National Assembly members, to cooperate with all our forces, knowledge, and political experience in implementing the processes of renewal and creating the new image of socialism outlined by the July Concept. A new period is beginning. It requires active deeds in the constituency, in the permanent commissions, and at the National Assembly sessions. This means that there will be strict control and exigence toward the actions of the government and its organs in the center and in all places. The new period also requires active and businesslike participation in working out, discussing, and adopting the new laws so that Bulgaria asserts itself as a modern socialist and law-governed state. Obviously, from now on the National Assembly will hold more frequent sessions and meetings. Let each of us thoroughly study the unfounded and inflated budget expenditures, and make his own proposals on this matter. Let us seek new sources for increasing the budget revenue, so that with joint efforts we can eliminate the great deficit in the state budget. Let us ensure additional means so that we can gradually solve some of the most acute social issues.

Today the National Assembly adopted essential structural changes in the government. New deputy premiers and ministers have been elected. This creates conditions for more efficient activity on the part of the Council of Ministers than was the case in the past. Voting confidence in the new members of the government, we wish them success. Let them not forget that the National Assembly will require from them courage, determination, and a high degree of competence so that they can implement positive changes in the departments entrusted to them by the supreme organ of state power.

We must all participate in efficiently controlling the administration and eliminate bureaucratic phenomena that burden human life or violate human rights. Let us restore with our personal behavior and deeds the lost faith of our voters. Let them see that they have worthy representatives in the supreme organ of the government, rather than silent observers and parts of an obedient machine that votes and approves decisions that have been previously adopted elsewhere.

Now that appropriate conditions are being created it will depend much on each of you to justify the confidence of the voters.

The period until the end of our mandate is a period for practical deeds for the renewal of socialism. Nobody will forgive us if we remain passive and idle. If many have refrained from seriously participating in the debates up to now, out of fear of infuriating with critical remarks the person who until recently was the first party and state leader, or some of the other persons of the higher echelon, let them understand that the time has come for all of us to dispel fear and hesitation. We are responsible for our actions as people's representatives only to the people and to those who voted for us, thus expressing their confidence in us to represent them in the National Assembly. Let us make full use of the time until the next National Assembly session to study in the center and everywhere the urgent problems that cannot be postponed and make a real contribution to their solution. We must develop serious parliamentary activity in working out and adopting a real plan for the development of the country in 1990 so that it becomes an efficient means against the negative tendencies in our economy and a reliable foundation for the 10th 5-Year Plan period.

There is no more important task now than to stabilize the basic national balances and improve the country's balances, so that in the future we will have an economic system that will ensure a better life for every Bulgarian citizen.

I close the National Assembly session! [applause]

Deputy Minister Comments on Combat Training

AU1511142689 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[Article by Colonel General Panayot Panayotov, deputy minister of national defense: "Quality Parameters in Combat Training"]

[Excerpts] Organizational and structural changes are under way in the Armed Forces that are establishing in them a defensive stance, and cuts are taking place in the numbers of personnel and quantities of combat equipment, in accordance with the unilaterally assumed commitments.

The positive processes in the international situation have not yet become irreversible. For this reason, our Army's combat might must be preserved, irrespective of the changes, and we must maintain constant readiness to guarantee the defense of our people's achievements.

At the meeting of the all-Army party aktiv in March 1989, the minister of national defense pointed out that the main principles of our work in maintaining a high standard of combat readiness should be reasonable sufficiency and the improvement of quality parameters.

In the development of the Armed Forces, the possibilities of the quantitative approach are exhausted. Prime importance is now given to the selection and quality of personnel, further improvement and full utilization of the capabilities of weapons and combat equipment, development of military science, and the drafting and introduction of new methods of training and warfare.

In the course of the year we have carried out varied command and organizational work and broad practical activity on improving troop training. In the "Maritsa-89" maneuvers the troops demonstrated a higher standard of field training in organizing and conducting defensive operations, in launching counterattacks, and in field firing. Nonetheless, shortcomings were still apparent as regards practical skills, independence, level of training in the timely detection of targets, accurate shooting at maximum range, selection of positions, effecting maneuvers, engineering preparation of positions, and so on. The new systems of fire control have not been completely mastered. There is evidence of a certain stagnation in the firing training of tank crews, as well as of shortcomings in the training of the combat arms. Physical stamina is also inadequate, including that of the command staff.

The main reason for the shortcomings is the style of work. We have not managed to get close to the life of the soldiers, to provide continuous and true information, or to act continuously and preventatively to ensure that the tasks are carried out to a high standard. Full cooperation has not been achieved in the organization of joint training, there has been insufficient coordination in ensuring control, providing aid, and so on. [passage omitted]

The principal quality parameters for combat training are the following: training of commanders (commissioned and non-commissioned officers); the professionalism of specialists from the different arms; the combination of units and subunits in combat conditions and field training; the military discipline of individual specialists, subunits, and units; the technical serviceability of weapons, equipment, and other forms of property; the condition of training and educational equipment and facilities; and the introduction of the achievements of technical progress in the teaching process.

The chief quality parameter is the standard of training of the commanders. [passage omitted]

Unless the standard of training of commanders is improved, it will be impossible to effect an improvement in troop training. It is therefore essential to change the attitude toward organizing the training of the command personnel. There is now an opportunity to display much more initiative and creativity, therefore one should not only rely on the measures laid down in the regulations, but the commanders should study continuously: during private study periods, in the course of the actual academic training process, and in their own time. [passage omitted]

The organization of the work with non-commissioned officers should be a constant concern. Up to the present, this work has been unsatisfactory. This is why at least 1 or 2 days should be allocated every month to training sessions with the non-commissioned officers from fighting units on methods of command. Assistance must be given to the supervisors of these sessions regarding methods and topics. The same requirements also apply to the two 5-day meetings with re-enlisted non-commissioned officers.

The role of the headquarters staffs and their standard of training as organs of command will in the future continue to be determined by the following: their standard of organization; degree of coordination in controlling the troops; using automated control systems; their initiative, operational effectiveness, and demanding strictness; and their monitoring of the execution of the commanders' decisions, orders and instructions. [passage omitted]

The standard of training of specialists in the armed services is a quality parameter that requires high standards of up-to-date professionalism, comprehensive training, competence, and mastery of one's special subject. Two things define professionalism: perfect familiarity with the weapons, systems, and combat equipment that the specialist deals with, and the possession of practical experience to such a degree that the latter can be employed automatically, without the need to think. [passage omitted]

The training of specialists is connected with the next quality parameter, namely the combination of units and subunits in a combat situation and their field training. This is the main criterion for combat training. [passage omitted]

We must show more determination in carrying out joint training of the combat arms, which should start with the training of squads, sections, and weapon and other crews, and this should be applied even more widely in tactical exercises and field firing practice with the platoons. [passage omitted]

The main problems connected with raising the standard of combat training left are the following: altering and further improving the structure of the training year and developing an optimum version; further improving the program for training staff and soldiers to bring it into line with the new realities; changing over to new methods and discovering new forms for training; and making training equipment and facilities conform to the requirements of the defensive doctrine.

The discipline shown by the individual specialist in the units and subunits plays a special role in relation to effecting qualitative improvements in combat training. [passage omitted]

A study must be made of public opinion among the soldiers. The new realities demand a new attitude toward people's problems and new approaches to them. This requires persevering work among the collectives, and patience in drawing upon unused reserves for solving the pressing problems relating to education, combat training, and everyday matters. We possess all the conditions, forces, and means needed for this, and we also have the experience. Let us then, by our joint efforts, take account of the bitter experience of past years and do what is necessary to fulfill this task.

When we speak about the technical condition of weapons, equipment, and other forms of property, we are not referring generally to the availability of equipment in adequate quantities, nor to the quality and combat capabilities of weapons and equipment as one of the basic parameters of the fighting strength of the Armed Forces. This is a matter for the designers. The matter at issue is the technical serviceability and maintenance of the weapons and equipment allocated for training. We have sufficient amounts of combat training equipment and have no problems with limits placed on kilometers covered or ammunition and other consumables used. The largest number of unresolved problems relate to the technical serviceability and condition of this equipment, which result in much loss of time and the frequent calling off of training sessions. The reasons for this are sought in the technical organs, in failures to provide spare parts, and in repairs poorly carried out. The commanders themselves are not seen to be guilty. During inspections and checks, we do not usually devote sufficient attention to the condition of equipment and the time that is spent on maintaining it. This question is of exceptional importance for raising the standard of combat training. Hand in hand, we must solve the questions relating to storing equipment at the training centers, improving management planning, and increasing the degree of equipment utilization. We should also devote more time to servicing, learning about the machines and equipment, ensuring supplies of spares, and so on. [passage omitted]

If we succeed in achieving these quality parameters, we will also achieve a qualitative increase in the standard of combat training. However, the chief factor, the main parameter, as the minister of national defense pointed out, is the further improvement of the style and methods of work of the commanders, headquarters staff, and political organs. This is the Gordian knot that we must sever.

It is necessary, even before the start of 1990, to speed up improvements in the work of introducing the new program for automated planning of combat training. This will give the commanders time to occupy themselves in practical work. We must cut down paperwork and relieve the commanders of certain of their duties. We must raise the criteria, and increase strictness, self-discipline, and strictness toward ourselves. Let us start to work even more intensively, with greater precision and efficiency, let us give more help to one another, and establish an atmosphere of frankness, high principles, glasnost and collectivity.

'Creative Approach' Urged in Army Life

AU1611114389 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 15 Nov 89 p 2

[Article by Colonel Docent Rumen Nenkov, Candidate of Military Sciences: "The Creative Approach in the Activity of the Military Cadres"]

[Excerpts] The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] has always strived to apply the creative approach in its many-sided activity and in the work of all its cadres. This revolutionary virtue was displayed with particular force at the November 1989 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee. It was stressed at the plenum that, in order to establish new features in the different spheres of social practice, "training a new kind of cadres as people of high civic qualities, professional skills, convinced adherents to restructuring, will have an exceptional importance. Simultaneously, we must fundamentally change the style and methods of leadership, as well as the criteria for mutual relations and our notions of rights and obligations."

This party postulate also applies with full force to the military cadres. Now, more than ever before, the commanders, political officers, and all soldiers must be sensitive toward what is new and progressive, toward innovation and daring, and skillfully apply leading experience in all spheres of army activity. The domestic and international situations require us to think and act ingeniously, with foresight and competence. They must know what has to be achieved and how to handle it and implement it in practice, giving qualitative factors priority over quantitative ones. [passage omitted]

What are the main directions for successfully establishing and applying the creative approach in the work of the military cadres? On what should the commanders, political organs, and party organizations concentrate their efforts in order to achieve the desired qualitative improvement in the troops' combat readiness?

First and foremost, they must build up a high degree of conviction and political awareness among the soldiers as a necessary condition for activating their creative possibilities, efforts, and results in their work. Now ideological work and all party-political work must spur the military cadres to make an in-depth critical analysis in principle of the state of the soldiers' activity and the results achieved. In doing this, answers must be provided to the questions of what we have achieved and what possibilities we have; whether we have mastered and are applying the requirements of the defensive military doctrine in the activity of the units and subunits entrusted to us; whether we have overcome complacency and inertia; how conditions are changing; where our place lies in the accelerated application of leading experience among the troops, and so forth. [passage omitted]

The second important direction for establishing and stimulating the creative approach concerns achieving an optimum combination of the principle of one-man command with the collective principle in the leadership, as well as creating the maximum degree of democracy and glasnost, whereby every soldier can feel himself to be a manager and creator. Today, more than ever, the situation requires that one-man command be combined with collectivism and democratic elements. Neglecting the collective method of work and disregarding glasnost weaken the links of the commanders, political officers, and party leaderships with the soldiers, and also increase the risk of subjectivism and partiality in adopting decisions. Accordingly, democratic and collective principles must be strengthened in practice at all stages of the commander's activity and party-political work, in order to establish an atmosphere for freely voicing opinions and making proposals, and not permitting monopoly attitudes in making decisions and imposing certain views. This again comes down to improving the standard of conduct of activities and functions and increasing the advance preparations for these.

At the same time, it is apposite to stress here that democracy and glasnost are only possible in combination with good organization, order, and discipline, and that they cannot under any circumstances lead to anarchy and arbitrariness, unjustified criticism, and denial of everything in the past activity of the collectives and Communists.

The third direction for establishing the creative approach in the activity of the military cadres is the task of continuously improving the cadres' professional military training, discipline, and mental preparedness for implementing the party decisions and achieving new qualitative growth everywhere and in everything. [passage omitted]

Ovcharov Holds Economic Talks in FRG

AU1511083389 Sofia BTA in English 2252 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Stuttgart, November 14 (BTA corr.)—The Days of the Bulgarian Economy started here with the common effort of the Bulgarian and West German companies to activate direct relations.

A Bulgarian delegation headed by Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning, arrived in the capital of Baden-Wuerttemberg to participate in these events.

Mr Ovcharov spoke before businessmen of the industrial chamber of the community about the economic reforms taking place in Bulgaria and the possibilities for our country to participate in the international division of labour.

Later Mr Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of the Province Baden-Wuerttemberg, met with the leader of the Bulgarian delegation. The two interlocutors discussed the state and prospects of cooperation between companies of Bulgaria and the province.

Mr Stoyan Ovcharov met with Mr Hans-Peter Stil, chairman of the Association of the Trade and Industrial Chambers of the FRG and discussed the possibilities for further development of the economic relations between the two countries.

Todorov, Delegation Make Trip to FRG

AU1411104389 Sofia BTA in English 1005 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Wiesbaden, November 13 (BTA correspondent)—A delegation of the Bulgarian National Assembly led by its chairman, Mr Stanko Todorov, arrived on an official visit here at the invitation of the Bundestag.

The Bulgarian M.P.'s will get familiar with the operation of the Bundestag committees and of the Landtags (state legislatures).

Right after its arrival, the Bulgarian delegation was briefed on the work of the Hesse Landtag.

Later in the day the Bulgarian parliamentarians went to Mainz where their counterparts familiarized them with the work of the Rhineland-Palatinate Landtag.

Meets Officials

AU1511213089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Dialogue between the two countries' parliaments plays an essential role in relations between Bulgaria and the FRG. This was stressed today by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly, and Rita Suessmuth, president of the FRG Bundestag. They agreed to expand parliamentary relations, including cooperation between the legislative, agricultural, and environmental protection commissions. Rita Suessmuth, the Bundestag president, was invited to visit Bulgaria, which she accepted with great pleasure.

Later on, Stanko Todorov met Hans Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs. During the friendly talk they exchanged views on international issues and on the development of bilateral relations. Hans-Dietrich Genscher pointed out that the

FRG Government intends to pursue its traditionally good relations with Bulgaria.

Further on Visit

AU1611093689 Sofia BTA in English
0844 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 16 (BTA)—The dialogue between the two parliaments is of great importance as to the promotion of the traditionally good relations between Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Germany, pointed out Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly, and Prof Dr Rita Suessmuth, president of the Bundestag, at their yesterday's meeting.

They agreed on the extension of parliamentary relations, the cooperation between the legislative commissions and the committees of agriculture and the protection of the environment included. With this interaction the contribution of the small and medium-size countries to the assertion of the new East-West relations is increased.

An invitation to visit Bulgaria was extended to Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth which she accepted.

Later on the chairman of the National Assembly of Bulgaria had a meeting with Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the FRG, to whom he conveyed greetings on behalf of Mr Petur Mladenov. Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who has been cooperating with the new secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] for many years in the field of diplomacy thanked for the greetings and wished to Mr Peter Mladenov great success in his new post.

During the friendly discussion the two sides exchanged opinions both on international problems and on the development of bilateral relations. Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that the Federal Government will continue to pursue a course aimed at the promotion of the traditionally good relations with Bulgaria.

At the talks with Prof Dr Rita Suessmuth and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, as well as at the numerous meetings with parliamentarians of the parties represented at the Bundestag, Mr Stanko Todorov was asked many questions on the restructuring in Bulgaria. He told about the latest changes in the country which are aimed at activating and lending dynamism to the processes of innovation. Mr Todorov underlined that they will have a direct bearing on Bulgaria's contribution to the all-European process which is gaining momentum, on Bulgaria's participation in the international division of labour and the exchange of material and cultural values.

Jakes Addresses Nation on Unrest 21 Nov

LD2111215189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the National Front Central Committee; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens, comrades! I am turning to you in connection with the serious events that have been taking place in Prague and in some other places of our homeland and have become a source of social tension. Our society finds itself at the crossroads of its further development. We are fully aware that further development of socialism in our country is not possible without reforms. We will not back away from this course to improve people's lives. The leadership of the Communist Party and the Czechoslovak state have been making great efforts to achieve set goals. We are at the same time aware of the justified comments of the public on the tempo of the social changes, their extent, and the consistency in their implementation. We wish together with you for restructuring to bring concrete results faster. We are at the same time aware of our responsibility for the consequences of the necesary changes not to fall on the shoulders of working people and not to threaten social certainties of citizens and their life prospects. Our program is not anarchy, chaos, social tension, and social disruption. This could seriously damage our national interests. We are aware of this. Together with all upright citizens we have to carry out our own Czechoslovak path of all- society restructuring corresponding to our national and democratic traditions, hard work, talents, and culture of our people.

We welcome dialogue with all those who are in favor of socialism even if they express critical stands toward malpractices and shortages with which we have to struggle. The solution of all questions troubling our citizens and of new tasks as well, in fact can, however, only be achieved in constructive businesslike deliberations, in an open and responsible examination of various alternatives, and in willingness to listen to each other. We will always be sincerely interested in this. We are aware that we will master the uneasy tasks ahead of us if we appreciate each other's work, if we lean on each other. More than one dialogue is ahead of us: polemics, the explanation of connections, and not only of the present days but the current and future paths of restructuring.

The Central Committee of the CPCZ has been receiving a number of telegrams and letters in which collectives and individuals demand to ensure law and order, conditions for creative work and a happy life.

Restructuring naturally brings about differences in views and stances. There is however a limit we should not overstep. It is defined by our Constitution and the law of the socialist state. It is democratic and everybody must respect this.

We know that young people meet in their work, in their studies, in their daily life with a number of problems and troubles that must be dealt with responsibly. This followed from the session of the recent statewide conference of the Socialist Youth Union, too.

What is, however, the course of action and program of those groups in the background of the current events in Prague? They are trying to manipulate recklessly with a part of young people and misuse their sincere interest to move toward things faster. This influence was shown on our cultural front as well.

What could be the morality of people who shamelessly spread false reports and rumors about the death of a young man just to unleash passions and emotions with unforeseen conseqnences? Their only aim is to disrupt, under the slogans of restructuring and democratization, the socialist system in Czechoslovakia against the interest of the peoples, whatever the consequences.

In this connection the Friday events on Narodni Trida are often discussed. They will be investigated, as you know. One thing is clear: at stake is the cause of the working people—socialism with which the majority of our peoples, including the young generation, are connecting their future.

The fundamental condition of the success of restructuring and its dynamic proceeding is a peaceful social atmosphere. The economic situation and overall life of society is not going to improve by demonstrations and strikes.

It is necessary to approach the assessment of the current events and the issues put forward without any emotion or prejudice. The highest party and state bodies are prepared for it.

I appeal to you, all workers, agricultural workers, intelligentsia, young generation, all communists, members of political parties, and organizations of the national front, let us do our utmost to remove the burden of the current tense situation.

The only perspective for our country is the socialist path of advancement. It is our duty to defend the values of socialism, which were won in the previous fights and with self-sacrificing work of entire generations, to develop and enrich them in the new conditions of development which also puts in front of us new tasks.

Let us all show a high degree of civic responsibility, common sense and prudence.

21 Nov Demonstrations, Meetings Reported

Bratislava Students Gather

LD2111210489 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The students from the Bratislava higher education establishments gathered today for a joint meeting, in the lecture theater of the Commenius University and in front of the building. They expressed their unanimous backing for the movement of Prague higher education students and their procession then walked to Hviezdoslav Square where a several-thousand strong crowd comprising mostly young people gathered.

The statement of the newly established independent students' trade unions, which was read at the meeting, expresses among other things lack of trust in the Socialist Youth Union, which has hitherto insufficiently implemented the just requirements and interests of young people. The assembled young people then peacefully dispersed and went to the compounds of individual higher education establishments, where they continued their discussion.

Adamec 'Guarantees' to Civic Forum

LD2111191189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] As we have already informed you, more than 100,000 people crowded Wenceslas Square in Prague at 1600. We have now received in the studio more detailed information about this gathering.

The participants in this gathering took care to observe peace and order and tried to prevent attempts to breach it. The people who spoke there and demonstrators stated that they were not intent on disrupting the substance of socialism in the CSSR but exclusively renewing democratic and humanitarian principles. Brief speeches were delivered by representatives of students and civic movements and initiatives. Among them there was Vaclav Maly, editor of SVOBODNE SLOVO Karel Sedlacek and playwright and writer Vaclav Havel—who briefly explained the purpose and aims of the newly founded association Civic Forum.

Then actor Jiri Bartoska, member of this association, spoke and informed those present there about today's meeting with the government premier. Ladislav Adamec gave his personal guarantees, stressed Jiri Bartoska, that in the connection with demonstration in Prague no reprisals would be taken and martial law would not be declared. This assuring statement was welcomed with applause by those gathered.

Actor Petr Burian read a statement by the initiative association Civic Forum in which he stated that they wanted to hold talks with the leadership of the state about the solution of topical questions of our present time. These talks should be the beginning of a dialogue involving the entire society, a discussion about the future of our country.

Martin (Mejstrik), member of the coordination strike committee of Prague universities and polytechnics, spoke about the situation at universities and secondary schools in Prague and about the demand that those participants detained at the demonstration on 17 November this year are released.

Those present were also informed about a message from Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague, who condemned the action taken by the forces of order on 17 November.

After speeches by miner Milan Hruska and other speakers, participants in the demonstration sang the CSSR state anthem.

[Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1730 GMT on 21 November in a similar report adds the following information: "The representatives of the Civic Forum emphasized that they distance themselves from the slogans and leaflets calling for physical elimination of the Communists. Those who were present expressed their agreement with this declaration by applause and they chanted that they were against any kind of violence."]

Adamec Receives Students, Artists

LD2111164389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] In Prague today, Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec received representatives of student, artists, and civic circles. The meeting was attended, among others, by Martin Hulcak, chairman of the [Prague] City Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth, and Jan Pradler, vice chairman of the union's City Committee, as well as by Zdenek Vesely, chairman of the All-works CPCZ Committee of the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University, Pavlina (kukova), chairwoman of the Faculty Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth of the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University. Milan Hruska, a coal miner from Kladno, Jiri Batoska, Martin Mejstrik, Michal Kocab, the composer, Michal Horacek, a MLADY SVET editor, and Jan Ruml.

Adamec Assures Students

LD2111180189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec met in Prague today with representatives of student, art, and civic circles of the Prague public. [passage omitted] The participants in the meeting briefed the federal premier on their views on the current situation in Prague, as well as in other towns of our republic, particularly at universities and secondary schools.

Ladislav Adamec assured those present that the federal government, in harmony with its program statement of last November, is purposefully preparing basic social restructuring. A great deal of work has already been done in the economic sphere, so that as of next January the entire economy will be transferred to the new rules of management. Now one also has to concentrate on the political sphere. What will be involved above all is the new draft Czechoslovak Constitution and draft bills on freedoms of association and assembly. These significant legal changes, however, cannot be prepared in haste and under pressure. The federal government, at the same time, is prepared to accept any good advice from anybody if this contributes toward renewal of our socialist society, but we will protect socialism—this cannot be disputed, Ladislav Adamec stressed. He continued that inasmuch as we are still receiving questions regarding the action of order units on 17 November, I have asked the prosecutor general of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to investigate the entire affair.

Ladislav Adamec said further that the public will be acquainted with the results. The government, however, must see to adhering to social order. In this connection he rejected rumors about attacks being prepared against students. Our meeting today, Ladislav Adamec went on to say, is palpable evidence that the federal government is not avoiding dialogue. There are no questions that cannot be discussed in peace, with deliberation and after well thought-out preparation. He noted that the dialogue about many significant problems of our society, however, cannot be reasonably led in the street. Return to schools, start playing in the theater again, the federal premier appealed to those present, and, on their behalf, to all students and artists.

The contents of today's meeting with Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec were conveyed by actor Jiri Bartoska to those assembled on Wenceslas Square in Prague, which was filled today at 1600 by over 100,000 people. After that a declaration of the initiative association, Civic Forum, was read.

Gathering Hears Adamec 'Guarantees'

LD2111191189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] As we have already informed you, more than 100,000 people crowded Wenceslas Square in Prague at 4 o'clock. We have now received in the studio more detailed information about this gathering.

The participants in this gathering took care to observe peace and order and tried to prevent attempts to breach it. The people who spoke there and demonstrators stated that they were not intent on disrupting the substance of socialism in the CSSR but exclusively renewing democratic and humanitarian principles. Brief speeches were delivered by representatives of studens and civic movements and initiatives. Among them there was Vaclav Maly, editor of 'SVOBODNE SLOVO' Karel Sedlacek and playwright and writer Vaclav Havel—who briefly explained the purpose and aims of the newly founded association Civic Forum.

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Prague Demonstration Ends Peacefully

AU2111202789 Paris AFP in English 1958 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 21 (AFP)—A huge anti-government demonstration here dispersed peacefully, witnesses said, after opposition leaders came out of talks with communist Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec with hopes of political reform.

The rally in Wenceslas Square, the fifth of its kind in as many days, broke up before 1800 GMT, but thousands of people were still milling around downtown streets afterwards discussing the day's events.

In talks that finished during the 200,000-strong demonstration, Mr. Adamec had told a delegation of 10 opposition leaders that the security forces would not intervene.

He pledged that political reform was a top priority, including changes to the constitution, but warned that it would be a long and "minutely detailed" process that could not be "conducted in the streets".

Leading dissident playwright Vaclav Havel, a founder of the Charter 77 human rights movement, later joined other opposition leaders in calling for the resignation of the communist party government installed after Warsaw Pact troops put down the 'Prague Spring' pro-democracy movement of 1968.

CTK Maintains Demo Count

LD2111221789 Prague CTK in English 1730 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] In a report by its Prague correspondent Hans Neuerbourg the ASSOCIATED PRESS agency incorrectly quoted the Czechoslovak news agency CTK today as having said that 200,000 to 300,000 people gathered on Wenceslas Square in the centre of Prague on Tuesday. CTK wants to draw attention to the fact that it put the figure in its morning report at 200 to 300 (rpt 200 to 300) people.

CTK Issues Apology

LD2211094489 Prague CTK in English 0049 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] [no dateline as received] This afternoon CTK pointed to allegedly incorrect data in a report of the ASSOCIATED PRESS agency (AP) on the situation in the centre of Prague Tuesday morning.

After being informed by the Prague-based AP office, CTK found out that the error occured during the translation and editing of the AP report in CTK. We apologize for this mistake.

Strike Committees Established

LD2111221389

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1730 GMT on 21 November carries a 3-minute report by editor Jan Ber on the situation in Kosice. He says that almost 3,000 students met this morning in front of the high school of technology with the rector and academic staff.

He continues: "Last night the students from this higher education establishment elected a strike committee, which also includes the members of the Socialist Youth Union. At their meeting they submitted 15 demands, which were jointly agreed by the students of this higher education establishment. As of today the students from this higher education establishment started a strike in support of the demands of the students from the Prague higher education establishments and the statement of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee Secretariat. At the same time they voiced their disagreement with the stance of the federal and national governments of the Slovak and Czech Socialist Republics with regard to the events in Prague on 17 November."

He says their other demands also include "the reduction of the military service, the inviolability of academic soil, and the demand to authorize a students' demonstration at 1200 on 24 November in the center of Kosice."

Ber adds that representatives of the political and public life of Kosice and the East Slovak Region came to discuss matters with the students of this higher education establishment. A similar meeting of students ended a little while ago at the medical faculty of Safarik University in Kosice.

The announcer notes: "A situation similar to that in Kosice exists also in Presov, Zilina, and Trnava."

This report is followed by one by editor Lubomir Krno on the situation in Banska Bystrica and Zvolen. The students of higher education establishments in these towns convened meetings at which they attempted to formulate their demands. The Zvolen students organized a strike committee. They stressed that they did not intend to cause disruption and destruction, but that they wish to discuss various questions with the educationalists. The students from two higher education establishments in Banska Bystrica decided to hold a peaceful march in the afternoon which was sanctioned by the national committee. The theaters in both towns have canceled their performances. Secondary schools in Slovakia also discussed the current situation today, Krno says in conclusion.

Strikes at Universities

LD2111190389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] According to a report issued by the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Physical Training student strikes have taken place at the majority of universities and colleges today. The climate in the university and college buildings to which students have mostly open access is calm. This is helped by the most responsible attitude of the teaching staff, who frequently discuss with undergraduates everything that lies close to their hearts. Whenever possible, lectures are provided in accordance with the normal timetable.

80,000 Students on Strike

LD2211030289 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] I have information for you from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Training. Today week-long student strikes have been under way in all universities and polytechnics. About 80,000 young people are taking part in them.

Thousands of Students Demonstrate

LD2211100889 Prague CTK in English 0209 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Bratislava Nov 21 (CTK)—Lectures have been stopped at universities in the Slovak capital and other towns in Slovakia.

Individual faculties have established their student committees which joined in the course of the day the All-Slovak Strike Coordination Committee. Its further sessions will take place here tomorrow, where the common demands of the students are to be discussed.

Students of Bratislava theological faculties - the Roman Catholid faculty and the Evangelical faculty - held discussions with their pedagogues here today.

Meetings of studens took place in various places here today, demanding consistent investigation into the Prague events of November 17 and truthful information about persons responsible for them.

Student meetings also took place at universities in Banska Bystrica, Zvolen, Martin and Zilina, Central Slovakia.

Students in Kosice, Eastern Slovakia, held meetings in support of the strike.

Some 16,000 secondary school and university students in the town of Nitra, continued their regular studies today, however, they held a meeting at which they discussed the situation of the last few days.

Several thousand young people, mostly university students, demonstrated here tonight. They were informed of the establishment of the association "The Public Against Violence" here yesterday and its attitude to the statement of the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak governments. In the resolution the Association adopted it calls on the government to reevaluate the Prague events of November 17.

Many Slovak work collectives held meetings where they expressed their opinions on the present political situation. In statements sent to the Slovak CTK news agency they voiced unambiguous support for the statement of the Governments of Czechoslovakia and the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics on the events of November 17. They fully support the process of restructuring and democratisation, taking place under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Secondary School Pupils Join

LD2211151689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] The strike of students of higher educational institutions [universities, polytechnics, and higher colleges] was supported in Prague by the pupils of grammar schools [gymnazium], secondary technical schools, and some apprenticeship centers.

According to the information, which is changing very quickly with changes in the situation in secondary schools and now also in apprenticeship centers, the majority of the grammar schools in Prague and of secondary technical schools are participating in the strike. Pupils are staying in classrooms. In some schools, some teaching on a limited scale is carried out; in other schools pupils and teachers have discussions. This has been the case, for example, at the grammar schools in Nad Stolou Street, at the grammar school in Arabska Street and at the secondary technical construction school in Zborovska Street. At some schools, cultural or sport events have been organized. At the conservatoir, senior staff have been trying to secure at least the teaching of specialized subjects.

However, the position of secondary school pupils has been complicated by the fact that they are still not of age and that they give in to immediate moods and emotions more than students at higher learning institutions. Therefore, the current decision that their teachers should hold discussions with them in classrooms is probably the best possible solution at the moment.

Actors from Cinoherni Klub theater [Drama Club Theater] and other theaters have gone to some Prague secondary schools to hold discussions with pupils.

Demonstrators Gather in Wenceslas Square 22 Nov

LD2211114489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] This morning again there are about 200-300 people around the statue of St. Wenceslas, around which dozens of candles are burning under Czechoslovak state flags. The core of them are students on strike who are discussing the reaction of the party bodies and mass organizations to their demands and about the current situation.

CPCZ, Opposition, Media Reaction to Events

Daily Challenges CTK Account

AU2111171189 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Nov 89 p 5

["zn"-signed report: "Prague: Sunday Evening"]

[Text] He who did not pass through Narodni Trida yesterday evening will not believe it. Thousands of residents of our capital were promenading freely between the National Theater and the Maj department store. Lit candles were burning and flowers were being laid at many places where incommensurate steps had been taken against defenseless participants in the Friday [17 November] rally. Here, at these symbolic places, crowds of people, most of them young, were forming to discuss the events.

Near the Albatros publishing house stood a group of young people with Red Cross bands on their arms. In reply to our question as to what they were doing there, they said: "As students of the Faculty of General Medicine we want to prevent, as far as it is within our powers, a repetition of what happened here Friday night. It is, in fact, our duty."

In front of the office of the Autoturist travel agency, a circle of students of the Faculty of Education was returning in its discussions on the Friday intervention: "In our opinion, the aim was not at all to disperse [the demonstrators] but to beat them up." As they accompanied us to the editorial office, the future teachers were skeptical: "You will not print it anyway!"

According to some estimates, in some stages up to 50,000 people participated in the Friday procession of the academic youth, held on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the events of 17 November 1939. According to the account of eyewitnesses, the procession did not behave aggressively, not even on Narodni Trida (as the CTK report claims). It was shouting, apart from other slogans, "We Do Not Want Violence" and "Our Hands Are Empty." Shops, cars, and shop windows remained untouched. According to the participants, the intervention of law enforcement units was very rough [velice hruby]. Many participants sustained injuries also because they were surrounded from all sides by the advancing law enforcement units and, for a long time, had nowhere to escape....

Daily Views 'Provocations'

AU2111141789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Nov 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Resolutely Against Provocations"]

[Text] Various groups of persons have recently been striving—with active support from some Western information media, especially from radio and television stations—to provoke a confrontation with state power, destabilize the political situation, and create an atmosphere of social unrest in our country. Various commemorative actions are being organized and calls for strikes are being issued.

The pretext for this was an untrue report about the alleged death of one participant, and according to the French AFP news agency even four participants, in the demonstration of Prague students on Friday evening [17 November], which was misused to stage an antistate demonstration in the streets of the capital.

What are the facts? The gathering on Friday and the march of Prague students were to be a solemn commemoration of the memory of Jan Opletal and other students murdered by German occupiers 50 years ago. This solemn action was misused for quite different objectives, however. The attendance by numerous special correspondents of the Western media, and the fact that some of them were announcing in advance that bloodshed was to be expected shows fairly clearly that what was involved was a preplanned attempt to deliberately instigate a provocation.

Despite the fact that already during the march along the predetermined route slogans were chanted which demanded the "government's resignation" and "death to Communists," the Public Security Corps did not intervene. Its members were only called in after some of the participants in the demonstration entered the streets in the inner city and public order was threatened. The members of the Public Security Corps called on the shouting demonstrators to disperse, but the voice of common sense was not listened to and the aggressive core of the demonstrators provoked an encounter with the law-enforcing body. Skirmishes occurred, there were injuries on both sides.

All this did not seem to be enough to the organizers of the provocation to whip up emotions. Therefore, an untrue report about the death of one of the demonstration participants was put into circulation. Despite the fact that the report was not in any way verified, it was immediately spread by both illegal groups and some Western information media, despite the repeated denials by the appropriate Czechoslovak authorities. In this exacerbated atmosphere new demonstrations began to be organized on Saturday and Sunday in the streets of Prague. It is no coincidence that these attempts to breed social tension at all costs are occurring precisely now. On Sunday [19 November] the Italian daily LA REPUBBLICA wrote that even though, allegedly, it is still too early to talk about the "domino theory," about Czechoslovakia's following Poland, Hungary, the GDR, and Bulgaria, the process, according to one "Charter" proponent, has, allegedly, already begun. "It is necessary to increase the pressure from the street," the Italian daily quotes him as having said. And some Western television media, especially radio and television stations broadcasting to Czechoslovakia, are joining those attempts to subvert our social system by eliciting passions and emotions by spreading mendatious reports about the death of an individual. This is at variance with the mission of the information media and ethics, and it is at variance with the mission of the information media in the developing all-European process.

On the initiative of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, our society is already in its second year of following the path of restructuring and democratization. This is not easy. We are resolving a number of accumulated problems and we are striving for fundamental changes in all spheres of our society. In this we count on all honest citizens of our country. On Communists and noncommunists, on member of the other political parties. As Comrade Milos Jakes said at the recent nationwide conference of the Socialist Youth Union, "we are for a sincere dialogue with all who want, on the platform of the Constitution, to seek solutions and pool our energy for constructive work in the interest of the further socialist development of our country.... One thing should be clear, however: the dialogue cannot be conducted anonymously or by means of street actions whose objective is to provoke, to create tension in society, disturb public order, and to attack our social system with various appeals and with the help of some Western media, and to strive under the slogan of "democratization," in fact, for the abandonment of the socialist road of development."

At this time we must maintain a cool head and common sense, and we must resolutely condemn provocations whose objective is not to perfect socialism and improve people's lives, but social chaos.

Press Assesses Latest Developments

LD2211103189 Prague CTK in English 0920 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 22 (CTK)—All Prague dailies carry on their front pages the speech delivered by General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Milos Jakes on television last night and a statement of the Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party on the current situation in Prague.

They also devote prior attention to the course of yesterday's rally of citizens in Wenceslas Square in Prague and in other Czechoslovak cities and to the meeting of Premier Ladislav Adamec with representatives of the student, artists and civil circles of the Prague public.

RUDE PRAVO published opinions of workers from the Kladno Steel Works under the title "workers' word from the Kladno Steel Works" condemning the behaviour of the striking students and workers and some of their demands. All statements call for prudence and dialogue.

On the other hand MLADA FRONTA published opinions disagreeing with steps taken by the security forces against the peaceful demonstration of students on November 17, described the atmosphere at universities where students agreed to preserve prudence and calm and informed about the course of yesterday's demonstration at Wenceslas Square. It published also a letter by employees of the Faculty of Law of Charles University which stresses that the interference of the security forces on November 17 was made possible by an inconvenient legal regulation of the freedom of assembly. The lawyers pointed out the need for regulations of further rights and freedoms of the citizens.

The daily PRACE focused on the response of the trade union bodies which "condemn the efforts at diverting the working people from creative work". Presidium of the Central Trade Union Council described the events which followed the act of commemoration on November 17 as a "misuse of the natural critical attitude and other characteric features of young people" and called for a support for the policy of restructuring and democratization.

SVOBODNE SLOVO and LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE published statements condemning steps taken against demonstrators and calling for democratic and nonviolent solutions. There are calls for the preparation of free elections and political pluralism and voices disagreeing with the statement of the Czech, Slovak and federal governments of November 20. SVOBODNE SLOVO also carried standpoints of workers supporting the students and cultural workers.

The Slovak daily PRAVDA wrote that the processes of restructuring in the European socialist countries are accompanied in the west by words of understanding and support for democratization on the one hand but the deeds, especially of the mass communication media, are at variance with them.

Reporter Denies Police Intervention

AU2211130089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Nov 89 p 1

[Jiri Kohout article: "An Eye Witness Account"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—Reports about a "bludgeoned student" and appeals for a protest strike were proliferating on Saturday [18 November] afternoon and evening. During the afternoon, Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America began incorporating them into their broadcasts and some press agencies also took them up.

It was stated for the first time on evening programs broadcast by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe that Martin Smid, a student at the Charles University Faculty of Mathematics and Physics, had died as a consequence of wounds he received during an intervention against demonstrators on Friday [17 November] evening.

Reports of a young person's death always arouse strong emotions about the waste of life. The strength of bitterness and the resolve to make amends also correspond to this. Obviously, those who disseminated the report had planned on this.

As a RUDE PRAVO reporter, I witnessed the events on Friday evening, events which—with reference to the Chartist Petr Uhl—Radio Free Europe depicted so drastically that they should have immediately aroused a storm of anger and bitterness in everyone who heard the report. However, these events were at variance with what I saw. Many other "details" also did not fit. First of all, the appeals to disperse were distinctly repeated several times. The crowd responded to this by chanting slogans calling for the removal of the government, and so on. I did not see tear gas being used or dogs being sent in; soldiers were not among the intervening forces. Scuffles broke out and truncheons were used when specific individuals put up resistance while being led away or while their identity was being ascertained. But I did not see people being beaten or kicked, nor did I see the rivers of blood as described by alleged eye witnesses in the abovementioned broadcasts.

However, it is impossible to dismiss the tragedy hinted at in reports spread by radio broadcasts—reports which merit being labeled seditious—by the testimony and perceptions of an individual. During Sunday [19 November] morning, these reports were officially denied by the appropriate authorities. (We carry their text in another part of this issue) During the afternoon, CTK reports were broadcast by Czechoslovak Radio and Television denying Martin Smid's death and appealing for calm. They were even broadcast by Radio Prague in the streets in the city center.

Prague's citizens and visitors, who had come into town to make the most of the beautiful weather for walking or of the open department stores for shopping, were dragged into a situation which is difficult to understand.

In front of the Metro Palace on National Avenue a group of young people set up some kind of altar—a lot of candles—apparently for a person killed during the demonstration. Immediately opposite—at the school of languages—people started murmuring that two had been killed right here—a boy and a girl. A little further on—at the entrance to the Sportturist office—there was another carpet of wax and candles. Another young life is supposed to have been extinguished here.

Some passers by ventured to comment that it had been announced on radio that no one had died. An anonymous reply immediately came from the crowd: "Surely you do not believe that!"

Around four o'clock, a crowd was formed out of the on-lookers on National Avenue which set off in the direction of Wenceslas Square. It reached the top. Youths on elevated locations along the route shouted various slogans which the crowd repeated. "We Want a New Government!"; "Hang the Communists!"; "Down With the People's Militia!"; and "Down With the Army!"; "It Has Now Begun, it Is Impossible to End" and "We do Not Want to Be Last" were also shouted.

The National Security Corps organs did not intervene against the mass of several thousand people, many of whom had still not managed to extricate themselves from the grip of purulent emotions. Just before six o'clock in the evening, when self-styled leaders moved toward Mala Strana and voices began shouting "To the Castle!", order enforcement units blocked the unauthorized demonstration's path on Ujezd.

The crowd surged back toward Wenceslas Square and again toward the National Theater. Again they chanted slogans and appeals. People began to disperse before eleven o'clock. Out of the passionate atmosphere in the city, only small groups of people holding discussions remained. There was no intervention by police units.

Friendship Society Urges Prudence

LD2111220989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Interview with Zdenek Horeni, chairman of the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship association central committee by Zdenek Tomas, 21 November, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Tomas] Comrade chairman, what is the viewpoint of the central committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship association on the events that began following 17 November?

[Horeni] The discussion and the resolution that was adopted in conclusion adopted a univocal viewpoint. We are appealing to our fellow citizens—members and nonmembers of our social organization—for prudence, so that the things that are difficult for us in society might be solved not in the streets, but in a creative dialogue, in collectives where we work and live, so that we might continue discusions in society at all levels, not in the center, but also anywhere at places of work, among ourselves, between us—citizens, as well as among employees and our employers and so on. This is quite a natural and I would say normal question of our lives.

[Tomas] Of course, discussion represents a mere means to an end, while the aim, the common aim is totally different.

[Horeni] I think the joint aim should be uniformally the same. What we are concerned about is that we want to live in a peaceful and orderly society which has its aim for which [word indistinct] history, for the socialist homeland—the CSSR. This is also the meaning of the appeal with which we, at the session of the central committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship association, are turning not only to the members of our organization, but to all our fellow citizens regardless of their political affiliation, regardless of their age.

Prague Party Issues Statement

LD2111202689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party has endorsed the content of resolution on the current sociopolitical situation in the capital.

The document describes the situation of the last few days and speaks about the course which we have started to follow of implementing restructuring and democratization in the capital, the course of the moral renewal of all aspects of its life. It also emphasizes that emotions cannot be allowed to prevail that would make dialogue impossible, that would make it impossible to assess the various options to attain the common aim.

So the city party committee appeals to all Communists of Prague, members of other political parties, mass organizations of the National Front, deputies, and other officials, the young people of Prague, the working people, and citizens to clearly expose those who are responsible for unleashing of the recent situation and to distinguish between them and the zealous and enthusiastic yet also inexperienced youth. So we ought to tell ourselves firmly that we will not allow ourselves to be deprived of the inalienable right and duty to bring the work of restructuring and democratization to successful completion through creative daily work. Let us put an end to passions and hysteria, the statement of the city party committee on the current sociopolitical situation in the capital says.

Prague CPCZ Committee Appeal

LD2211000489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] has endorsed the content of the resolution on the current political situation in the capital. [passage omitted]

The City CPCZ Committee appeals to the students of higher learning institutions and artists to review whether their current approach and practices are in accord with the gravity of the political situation and whether they contribute to the joint work which we have started, to the implementation of their personal, creative and artistic aims.

Stepan on Importance of Dialogue

LD2111200189 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpts] A plenary session of the Prague city committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] met in our capital in the afternoon. [passage omitted]

Comrade Miroslav Stepan expressed appreciation in his opening speech for the results of work collectives that responsibly fulfill their tasks and pointed out their level-headedness.

He also said that the politicization of the party has failed while the politicization of our public has taken place. Therefore, the party organs face an uneasy tasks. He went on to say:

[Begin Stepan recording] It is enormously important to hold a dialogue. It would be a mistake to reject a dialogue on any topic. We are talking to all those who want to hold a dialogue with us and are open to thinking about our arguments. This was said several times at various sessions and on various opportunities and we are also doing a lot of specific things in this field.

Comrades, I want to express my conviction, arising from the events of the last few days, that the Prague party organization and our city committee of the CPCZ are able and prepared to express a firm and truthful, as well as understandable, and I would say politically flexible enough stance on the present political situation which has developed especially in Prague.

Chaos is not our programme. We demand and support order. [end recording]

The discussion that followed concerned among other things trust toward the party, what to do to gain it, and the communists' necessary activity.

Comrade Jaromir Pliva briefed those present with a statement of the party city committee on the political situation in Prague, our capital.

Czech Government Holds Session

LD2111212289 Prague CTK in English 1906 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 21 (CTK)—Czech Minister of the Interior and the Environment Vaclav Jirecek was asked by the government of the Czech Socialist Republic today that in keeping public order police units should consistently act in harmony with laws and take action only in cases when lives and health of citizens, their property and that of public organizations is in danger.

At its special session today, the government asked the Czech prosecutor general to give a running account of the results of the inquiry into the action taken by security forces during the student demonstration last Friday to the government, national front bodies and the public.

The Czech Government appealed to the citizens and youth to give up demonstrations and strikes and to be helpful to the government in coping with the present complicated situation and to contribute to civic discipline and order at places of work and residence.

CPCZ CC To Meet 24 Nov

LD2111203389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] A regular working consultative meeting of chairmen and leading secretaries of regional committees of the party met today at the Secretariat of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party.

Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly delivered an extensive explanation on the present political situation in the country. He stressed the fact that the Czechoslovak Socialist Party continues to remain on the present political basis of the National Front and repeated the need for serious changes in the democratization of the society and the respecting of civil rights and the necessary constructive dialogue in the framework of the whole society.

On the basis of recommendations of leading regional functionaries, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party has decided to convene the 11th plenary session of the Central Committee of this party on Friday, 24 November.

Youth Union Issues Statement on Recent Events

AU2211152489 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 21 Nov 89 p 1

["Statement of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union"]

[Text] At its extraordinary session on 20 November 1989, the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] discussed and assessed the situation which has arisen in Prague on 17 November after the conclusion of the solemn act paying tribute to the memory of Jan Opletal and in the subsequent days, and adopted the following statement:

The Secretariat of the SSM Central Committee fully supports the standpoint of the SSM's Czechoslovak Center of University Students of 17 November and the statement from the joint deliberations of the Presidia of the SSM City Committee and the SSM City Council of University Students in Prague on 19 November.

We support the demand to objectively investigate the procedure of the law enforcement units in the Narodni Trida in Prague on Friday night [17 November], and to immediately set up a commission of the CSSR Federal Assembly to investigate all facts connected with those events. We support the acceleration of the preparations of the amendment to the law on assembly and association, and amendment to the Penal Code. Strict adherence to outdated legal norms in that sphere corresponds neither to the demands of the times nor to the gravity of the present situation.

The majority of the young people demand and support fundamental and necessary political reforms in our society. Sometimes, perhaps, with less discernment and more criticism, but sincerely. We regard the political solution to the present situation as necessary and the only possibility, since Friday night, as several times in recent months, young people, including members of the SSM, were facing one another in the street. We reject extreme manifestations and approaches, be it from one or the other side. The violence in the given instance we regard as undemocratic and not corresponding to the policy of restructuring and democratization of society.

We have identified ourselves with the conclusions of the Seventh and the Ninth Sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. However, regarding their implementation, concrete actions are lagging behind words. We consider it urgent once more to stress that it is impossible that taboo subjects exist forever, or that conclusions are valid forever for all situations. This is at variance not only with the contemporary developments in our country, but also with the idea of building a common European home, with the essence of the socialist restructuring started by the CPSU in April 1985. All this must be frankly and matter-of-factly discussed, especially with young people.

The situation cannot be solved without a dialogue involving all for whom the further fate of our socialist fatherland lies close to the heart. Otherwise the public's trust in the feasibility and sincerity of the objectives of restructuring and democratization is and will remain endangered. We are appealing to all who are interested to take part in such dialogue. This is fully in accordance with the policy of the United Children's and Youth Organization and with the conclusions of the recent nationwide SSM conference.

The Secretariat of the SSM Central Committee is aware of the gravity of the present situation, especially at the institutes of higher learning and secondary schools. We are appealing to all our members, the young people, to behave and proceed prudently. For the good of our fatherland, the CSSR [Signed] The Secretariat of the SSM Central Committee

Slovak Presidium Stand on Events

LD2111220289 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] A stand on events which followed after the student demonstration on the anniversary of 17 November on Friday of last week in Prague and continued in several other places in the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republic was also adopted today in Bratislava by the Presidium of the Slovak National Council.

It agreed with the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] and CPSL [Communist Party of Slovakia] Central Committee and the statement of the federal and republican governments appealing to the public, students, teachers, mentors, and all staff to resume lessons, to continue in normal progress of studies.

At present a calm and creative working atmosphere is needed above all, because in a complex political and economic situation, as a consequence of negative internal and external influences, harm can be done to material and moral values of the society.

We appreciate highly all those working collectives, individuals and members of the artist front, the stand of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council says, who with prudence and civic responsibility view the present events and support measures aiming towards calm, constructive efforts of the whole society.

CPSL CC Presidium on Situation

LD2111193889 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee Presidium at its session today dealt with the political situation in Slovakia.

I discussed positions of concern, not only by primary party organizations and organizations associated with the National Front, but also the general public, over the tension which is arising in our society. Appeals and protest strikes by Prague students, which have found support and reactions in Slovakia as well, above all in Bratislava, have been the impetus for this.

Some members of illegal groups who are striving to use youth for their goals, have been making exceptional efforts. The inconsiderate decisions by some theaters to suspend activities also contribute to this.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium has expressed support for the report from the session of the federal and republican governments on events in Prague on 17 November this year. It considers it necessary to ensure law and order, to restore lessons in schools and work in theaters. These demands are also contained in stands which are arriving at the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Adamec Receives Church Leader

LD2111201589 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Today, Ladislav Adamec, premier of the federal government, received Josef Hromadka, doctor of theology, Synod senior of the Evangelical Church of Czech

Brethren and chairman of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in the CSSR. During talks they exchanged views on the present internal political situation in the CSSR and mission [as heard] at this time.

Jakes Receives Delegation

LD2111174689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, today received a Kladno District enterprises delegation, which conveyed to him full support for the party's policy. They demanded adoption of strict measures against forces that want to create tension and subversion in society.

Ministry Statement on 8 Wounded

LD2111173289 Prague CTK in English 1621 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 21 (CTK)—A total of eight people wounded Friday [17 November] in an action of public security forces in Prague are still in three hospitals, according to an announcement of the Czech Ministry of Health and Social Affairs.

Their wounds have been diagnosed as concussions of the brain and a shoulder blade fracture.

The directors of other Prague hospitals and the chiefs of the military and police hospitals told the ministry that no one was brought to their hospitals in connection with Friday's events. A total of 38 people were treated in Prague hospitals Friday night.

Radio Employees Condemn Militia

LD2111195189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Employees of the Czechoslovak Radio in Prague expressed their viewpoint today on the action of the order units of public security against the demonstration which was held in the center of Prague in the evening on the 17 November. Their aktiv, in which approximately 300 people took part, condemned the harshness of the action and, at the same time, welcomed the decision of Federal Premier, namely that prosecutor general of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic start investigation of the causes and circumstances of the whole incident.

Actors Suspend Performances

LD2111175789 Prague CTK in English 1641 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Bratislava Nov 21 (CTK)—There were no lectures at the universities here, in Kosice (East Slovakia), Banska Bystrica and Zvolen (both central Slovakia) today.

The students of Bratislava Universities met at Comenius University this morning and expressed their support for Prague University Students.

Meanwhile, actors and the staff of Bratislava theatres yesterday joined the decision of Prague theatre actors and staff to suspend performances for a week and hold discussions with audiences. The situation is different as regards theatres of smaller towns, most of which will continue their performances today.

TV Workers Want Truthful Reporting

LD2111224389 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Broadcast technicians from the department of joint technology in the sections of electronics and lighting equipment who are involved in Czechoslovak television broadcasting have sharply protested the brutal intervention of security forces on 17 November 1989.

They are demanding that this entire event be thoroughly investigated and those guilty be punished.

Furthermore, as people working in the field of mass media, they insist that television reports informing our public be truthful, objective, and thorough. In this context, they are prepared to devote every effort in their free time to fulfill this purpose.

They go on to state that if these demands are not met, they will join the 2-hour strike [called for 27 November].

At the same time this rally expresses full support for the statements by the Civic Forum and senior staff of universities and polytechnics.

Similar statements were adopted today at other work places of Czechoslovak television. Similar spirit is expressed by statements of CTK news editorial staff, international and political sections.

CTK Condemns Police Actions

LD2211092689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The international and political collectives of CTK'S main news editorial offices have adopted a stance on the present situation. It denounces the intervention of the law-enforcement units during Friday's students' demonstration in Prague as being out of proportion and politically ill-considered. They demand an investigation to determine responsibility so that conclusion can be drawn.

Organizations on Developments

LD2211102789 Prague CTK in English 0126 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received today a delegation of plants of the Kladno district, Central Bohemia, which expressed full support for the Czechoslovak Communist Party policy and demanded strict measures against forces which want to arouse tension and split society.

The presidium of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee voiced support for a report from the session of the Governments of Czechoslovakia, the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic on the events on November 17, 1989 in Prague.

It considers it necessary to ensure order and calm, resume lessons at schools and performances in theatres. These demands are contained also in stands which come to the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee.

The Presidium of the Slovak National Council identifies itself with the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the Presidium of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee and the statement of the governments of Czechoslovakia, the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Repubic on the situation.

In its stand assumed at an extraordinary meeting today, the Presidium stressed that at present, mainly a calm and creative working atmosphere is necessary as in the complicated political and economic situation material and moral values of society can be harmed as a result of internal and external influence.

Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Bohuslav Kucera said today that in harmony with the conclusions of the 9th national conference of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party in 1987, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party remains on the political base of the National Front.

At a regular working meeting of chairmen and leading secretaries of the party regional committee, Bohuslav Kucera repeated the need for serious changes, for the democratization of society and respect for civic rights and a necessary constructive dialogue in the framework of all society.

The party presidium decided to convene the 11th plenary session of the Party Central Committee for Friday November 24.

"The current heated events show how pressing is the implementation of the policy of restructuring and democratization in our society. We believe that our workers, farmers, intelligentsia as well as students are able to solve the present problems in a quiet and peaceful atmosphere", today's statement of the presidium of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee on the current political situation in Czechoslovakia read.

"All the problems arising in these agitated days can be solved only by dialogue conducted in an atmosphere of peace and mutual confidence", the declaration continued.

Public standpoints on the latest events in Czechoslovakia were and are adopted also by members of artistic ensembles and organizations: "The management of the Czechoslovak Film dealt with the situation that followed the students' demonstration on November 17, 1989 in Prague and came to the conclusion that an ill-judged action by security forces cannot be a response to expressions of dissatisfaction and disapproval of the current political situation", today's statement of the Czechoslovak film read.

A statement of employees of the National Theatre said inter alia: "We devote all our strength and skill to this state, we love our nation. We want a democratic, socialist society and demand a legal investigation and punishment of all who participated in the whole event."

The Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions discussed today the situation which has arisen after Friday's demonstration of Prague university students and expressed concern and disapproval of the acts which not only provoke chaos, violation of order and social excitement, but in their consequences mean an attack against socialism. "Our good future is decided in workshops, enterprises, institutes, in the fields and other work-places, it is decided by the attitude of those who create material and spiritual values of society and who, even when judging problems with justified criticism, act in accord with reason and responsibility", the Central Council of Trade Unions said.

People's Party Condemns Police

AU2211101589 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 20 Nov 89 p 1

["(RE)"-signed report: "Point of View of the Czechoslovak People's Party Prague City Committee Presidium"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Prague City Committee Presidium held an extraordinary session yesterday at which it condemned the intervention of security organs against the peaceful students' demonstration in Prague on 17 November. At the same time, it made a decision to convene at 1630 today an extraordinary meeting of the CSL City Committee Plenum at which the CSL city organization's stance on the current situation will be discussed.

Citizens Forum: Report of Student's Death Wrong

AU2211123989 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1221 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Prague—The CSSR opposition group "Citizens Forum" has now admitted that the report of student Martin Smid's death, which reportedly occurred during brutal police actions last week, was incorrect.

Charter 77 activist Petr Uhl, who had disseminated the wrong report, was the "victim of disinformation," a Forum spokesman said at a news conference today.

An appeal was addressed to Soviet state and party chief Gorbachev to condemn the "intervention" of 1968. it was noted that Such a condemnation would deprive the current leadership in Prague of "any legitimacy."

Czech TV Cites Soviet Spokesmen on E. Europe

LD2011213489 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] At today's regular press conference in Moscow, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the Foreign Ministry, responded to some views on developments in the East European countries, as were in the last few days expressed by the leading representatives of France, the FRG, and Great Britain. Vadim Perfilyev noted in this context that the question of what socialism will be like in their countries will be decided the peoples themselves. This is why it is necessary to tackle these questions in Warsaw, Berlin, and Budapest and not in Paris or Strasbourg.

The chief of the Information Directorate Gennadiy Gerasimov, who chaired the second part of the briefing, spoke in this spirit, too, and he answered our question concerning events in Prague in the last few days as follows:

[Begin Gerasimov recording in Russian with superimposed Czech translation] Stormy events are underway today in the countries of the whole of Eastern Europe, not only in Prague, but also in other capitals. In our view, these events are a part of the process of democratization. We, of course, refrain from assessing them, because they constitute the internal affairs of another country. [end recording]

Modrow Visits Combine; Discusses Travel

LD2111181789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1637 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government will concern itself on 23 November with problems arising out of the new travel regulations for the citizens of the country, thereby reckoning with unpopular measures. This was announced by Prime Minister Hans Modrow during a surprise visit this afternoon to the Berlin combine, "Friedrich Ebert" electrical appliances works (EAW). In a talk with working people he stated with regard to the concerns of many citizens raising from the travel regulations, that one should know where one belonged. The GDR could not be a people of speculators. He did not understand many citizens, how they could "simply throw away" the money for which they had worked hard.

The head of Government, who had worked in 1961 in the metropolitan enterprise in the planning area, also conferred, during the first factory visit since his election by the People's Chamber and before the first session of the newly elected Council of Ministers, with Director General Wolfgang Puppe on the plan fulfilment in this year and the plan for 1990 as well as on possibilities to dismantle bureaucracy. It was also a matter of the aid the combine needed and thoughts on economic reform in the GDR. Talks with working people centered on what moves them these days, on the Government statement, on the advnced age of much of the equipment in the EAW, and on the working and living conditions.

Further on Visit

LD2111215489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1917 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—In the view of GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow, a conference between the government and heads of industry should be convened before the extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Congress (15-17 December). The premier found assent to the proposal during his first, surprise factory visit, following his election, on Tuesday in the Berlin "Friedrich Ebert" electrical appliances works (EAW) combine. During a talk with the Director General Wolfgang Puppe, Modrow suggested that industry propose a code of indices which make effective economic planning possible.

The head of government also put forward for discussion thoughts aimed at a cooperation between GDR and FRG firms in third markets. Much should be thought through again. During a visit to the FRG he noted that there was interest in such solutions. Modrow encouraged the director general to commence corresponding negotiations. The EAW head spoke in this connection in support of making the combines' foreign trade activity easier. He also supported the idea that the exaggerated control system would disappear with the planned economic reform. Checks by the bank and auditors, which give information on the liquidity of the combines, are good. Modrow also introduced into the discussion thoughts on how one could learn for example from Japanese concepts to arrive at "socialist entrepreneurial spirit." Senior heads of firms from the FRG could also give much advice. [passage omitted]

'Democracy Now' to Hold Talks With LPDP

LD2111221189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1717 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday, Dr Gerhard Weigt, representative of the initiative group "Democracy Now," handed to Liberal Democratic Party [LDPD] Chairman Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach an invitation to attend negotiations at the "Roundtable." The LDPD press office gave this information to ADN.

Dr Weigt explained that coordination of the joint effort of all democratic forces for the deep-reaching renewal of the GDR with its own, attractive identity is the concern of the initiative from several citizens' movements. For this reason, all existing and newly forming democratic parties, organizations, and movements of social relevance are being invited to this project. "Democracy Now" envisages that, at first, a comprehensive understanding on the situation in the country should be brought about in this framework. Consequences should be drawn from this for consensus action while preserving the self-determination of the population of the GDR. In this regard it is a matter of support for the positive beginnings in the government program by means of an extended, differentiated political structure which articulates interests.

The LDPD chairman greeted this initiative and granted the support of the Liberal Democrats. Such a project corresponds to the urgent requirement to now make clear one's own position, but not to neglect thereby the need to live together. Highest priority should be accorded to this. Precisely at this moment, in the search for a way out of the crisis. It is now a matter of the free unfolding of all ideas and forces within the people, he stressed. On the agenda is a GDR which is just and social, in which one can live well, in harmony with the environment and neighbors. Confidence in the future of this German state can only grow out of self-confidence in one's own possibilities and in one's own will, whether at the workplace or in the shaping of politics.

Karl-Marx-Stadt Leader Meets With New Forum

LD2111214489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2103 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Dr Norbert Kertscher, first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Bezirk organization, conducted a talk lasting 2 and ½ hours today with three representatives of New Forum. The two sides reported on their positions on the topics of a new version of the Constitution and the electoral law, the state based on the rule of law and legal security, as well as renewal of social structures in the GDR. The representatives of the citizens' movement stressed to ADN following the meeting the open-minded atmosphere which had been characterized by the striving for honesty in the mutual relationship, clear delineation of stances, and the search on both sides for constructive answers. They viewed as positive the fact that this talk took place at the invitation of the SED politician in his first week in office. They agreed in their opinion that the present situation in the GDR is critical. New Forum stressed that there can be no question of changes in the facade of the SED and the state structure, but rather the old structures and positions must be abandoned to lend credibility to the turning point.

Government Announces Planning Simplification

LD2111173789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has decided on immediate measures to eliminate bureaucratic exaggerations in planning and reporting. The State Planning Commission told ADN on Tuesday [21 Nov] afternoon that the decision should produce tangible simplification in many areas for enterprises and combines, as well as for territories.

For example, the number of central plans will be reduced by more than half. The announcement of plan objectives for months and for decades will be abolished. Local people's representatives and their councils can decide autonomously in the future on the total funds set out. Central accounting and recording of competition obligations for enterprises and combines will also be abolished.

The Council of Ministers has commissioned the responsible ministers and heads of central state organs to change or issue anew the relevant determinations in the legal regulations.

Appeal for Human Chain Across Republic 3 Dec

LD2111182889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1716 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Taking up an initiative from Greifswald, Aktion Suehnezeichen calls on all citizens of the GDR to form a human chain through the republic on the first Sunday in Advent, 3 December, from 1200 to 1215. This is contained in a letter, conveyed to ADN, from the association for inner mission and aid of the Evangelical Churches in the GDR.

The chain is to be a sign of hope and resolution for democratic renewal in the country. [passage omitted]

GDR-FRG Party Figures Meet for Talks

LD2111155189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1321 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—The Rostock Area chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of the GDR, Gunter Krueger, and his two deputies met for their first talks with the land chairman of the Schleswig-Holstein [in FRG] Free Democratic Party, Wolfgang Kubicki, and his delegation in the Wilhelm Kuelz house in Rostock on Tuesday. They spoke in favor of deepening cooperation between the two parties also at the level of district exectutives.

The two sides want to help expand the community of responsibility between the two German states into a community of treaties. This is a matter of practical politics, thus in the economic, cultural and tourist fields.

Seiters Calls for 'Urgent' Action for Relations

LD2111173589 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpt] FRG Chancellery Minister Rudolf Seiters sees an urgent need for action in intra-German relations. Speaking to the press in the FRG Permanent Mission in Berlin today, he said that even if no firm date had yet been set nevertheless it was certain that a further meeting would soon take place. Certain arrangements would have to be negotiated quickly, he said, apparently referring to as yet unsolved issues relating to border traffic. [passage omitted]

Kohl Sees 'Positive Beginnings' in Statement

LD1911213489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2033 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl sees in the government statement by Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, positive beginnings of reform in the GDR. He said this in Paris on Sunday in an interview with GDR Television. He announced that Federal Chancellery Minister Seiters will be having a meeting this coming Monday [20 November] with Egon Krenz and Hans Modrow. This will possibly be followed by others. He himself wants, after careful preparation, to meet the State Council chairman and prime minister of the GDR before the end of December, come what may.

In reply to a question about new opportunities for direct cooperation between the two German states, the chancellor said that this is a broad field and will begin in the economic sphere. The FRG is prepared to push things forward in many fields of cooperation. Even now, agreements are to be brought forward on a number of issues, for example on environmental projects and in telecommunications.

A trusting, open relationship between the FRG and the GDR can also have great influence on the progress of disarmament and disarmament negotiations, Kohl said. Everything that contributes to an improvement, a normalization between the two German states helps peace in Europe, and thus peace in the world.

Further on Kohl

LD1911231889 East Berlin Television Service in German 1854 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Interview with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl by correspondent Dieter Wahl in Paris on the "Aktuelle Kamera" news bulletin; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Kohl] Today we will do what we decided—that the EC Commission should no longer postpone the conclusion of a trade agreement with the GDR. Instead, that issue should be tackled. I expressly publicized that we decide in favor of that goal, that means the EC and thus the FRG. Now there is a general feeling of eager expectation. We have that feeling here, too, be it Francois Mitterrand or anyone else who sat at the table: How will the new GDR Government really behave following its government statement? There were in fact positive signs regarding reforms. However, what is it really going to happen? What will the details be like? Over here, one is waiting for the results of the talks—FRG Minister Seiters wil meet Mr Krenz and the GDR prime minister, it is his first talk. Maybe further talks will follow. By all means, I will meet the State Council chairman and the premier personally this very December following careful preparations for the talks. All that will meet with great interest over here, particularly because one should not forget that the actual, regular EC summit will take place in Strasbourg 3 weeks from now. Then again we will discuss the development in the GDR.

[Wahl] What new opportunities, Mr federal chancellor, are opening up roughly for direct cooperation between the two German states?

[Kohl] That is a wide spectrum, starting with the economic field. The FRG, the FRG Government is prepared to promote things in many fields of such cooperation. When our cabinet made a decision last Saturday, I expressly insisted that we extend certain accords at this very moment, for example when it comes to environmental projects. I do not want to wait and see what happens, instead I want to go on working continuously. That is something for the benefit of both of us. Both sides are deploring the poor state of telephone lines. That is, for example, another subject that I think should be tackled.

[Wahl] When you had your telephone conversation with Mr Krenz you did not have any problems, did you?

[Kohl] Oh no, but that is something beyond what is normal. I expressly gave instructions to FRG Mail Minister Christian Schwarz- Schilig that he very quickly deal with that matter. When the people in Germany are able to have phone calls with one another, then there will be more human contacts, which is of the utmost benefit for all of us.

[Wahl] Mr federal chancellor, which kind of influence can you imagine when it comes to a more trustful, more open relationship between the FRG and the GDR regarding progress in disarmament?

[Kohl] Everything that develops peacefully serves disarmament. You know, last year we brought about the first disarmament treaty in mankind's history. That is a great merit by Mikhail Gorbachev and by U.S. President Reagan, the former President and the acting one. I know from my virtually weekly contacts with President Bush—and some days ago widely discussed that subject with General Secretary Gorbachev during a phone call—that both will make efforts during their upcoming meeting in the Mediterranean to prepare a further intensive development concerning disarmament. I intend to intensively talk with George Bush next week. I will certainly ring General Secretary Gorbachev before that summit takes place. It is our wish that the meeting between both representatives of the world powers will lead to a step-by-step progress during next year's Vienna negotiations. That is not an overnight thing, but I might very well imagine that next year—along with conventional talks—the issue that concerns me in particular, as it does many other people—that is the conclusion of an agreement on the ban of chemical weapons—will be brought to an end. That means that we should have such an agreement in 1990. That is a very important objective. Of course, both sides can make their contributions. Whatever contributes to improving, to normalizing the situation in Germany is helpful for peace in Europe and thus for peace in the world.

Maleuda Favors More Cooperation With FRG

LD1711005689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0003 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR People's Chamber President Guenther Maleuda (DBD) [Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany] spoke in favor of further deepening cooperation with equal rights between the GDR and the FRG in a well-functioning European home in an interview for RIAS Berlin which BAUERN-ECHO publishes today on page 1.

"Apart from the fact that I consider thoughts of a confederation, of a reunification very untimely, and here I share the view of many FRG politicians that there are now really more important things on the agenda that should lead to resolving important questions and problems." Maleuda believes "that there is still too much talk in the Federal Republic in commentaries and pieces of information, that the GDR must do this and the GDR should do that. This always smacks of tutelage."

The politician hopes for normal travel activity between the two states in a short time. "That would be very useful for us, above all in maintaining production and supplies." As far as the borders are concerned, a preliminary fundamental measure has been introduced and has thus complied with the wishes of many citizens. "The state border between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany is not only, as you say, an intra-German affair, but we should accept it in the interests of peace in Europe and in the whole world."

The president believes that with today's government statement, by Premier Hans Modrow, the course for the future also has to be set for the GDR economy. There will certainly be a whole list of quite concrete measures on economic reforms. "It is also certain that private initiatives will be promoted further above all in such spheres as services, crafts, trades, and also in other spheres. We will think forward also in this sphere but I believe that the basic principle will unreservedly be to maintain public property and also to strengthen the cooperative sector in agriculture.

West Berlin's Momper on Developments in GDR

AU2111153389 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 17 Nov 89 p 5

[Interview with West Berlin Mayor Walter Momper by Walter Giesemann and Frank Mangelsdorf in Berlin: "GDR People Are Developing a Dynamism, Which is Also Exemplary for Others"; date not given]

[Text] DER MORGEN: For a week there have been new travel regulations in the GDR. Were you very much surprised by this development—and how have you meanwhile come to terms with this new situation yourself?

Momper: Mr Schabowski told me rather clearly in a talk 3 weeks ago that these travel regulations would be issued.

Then came this intermediate solution with this disastrous draft travel law.... And in this situation we thought that if the Central Committee were clever, it would bring about a corresponding decision. But, frankly, we did not consider it possible any more, and we were really a bit surprised when the travel regulations were issued.

How I, myself, have come to terms with it? Well, it gives rise to much work, all over the city. The GDR citizens are really taking advantage of the travel regulations. The wave of visitors is considerable, the organizational and political expense to deal with this is enormous. But so far, the city and I, myself, have managed to live through it well, and we have also managed to deal with the matter without having everything break down. Of course, there were difficulties. You see, at Easter or on holidays West Berlin always has about 300,000 or 400,000 visitors, we manage to deal with this. But 800,000 or over 1 million of visitors—this is different. However, the infrastructure was prepared; we had ordered this immediately after the talks with Mr Schabowski and Mr Krack; all measures were taken to weather the storm. The Berlin Transportation Authorities were prepared, as were the police. In this respect there were no surprises. It was just that these plans had to be advanced. But this has also worked out quite well in the end.

DM: Mr Mayor, some time ago you pointed out that there are structural and social problems in West Berlin. How does the city come to terms from the material point of view with such an influx, in particular since this is also linked with a financial allowance for every visitor?

Momper: Of course, we have social problems. We have a lack of housing, unemployment—more than 85,000 unemployed people alone are a social problem—many Berliners do not have any place to live. More than 20,000 people, who have come to us as resettlers or emigrants, live in camps or in hostels, that is, under camp-like conditions. Coming to terms with the influx of visitors is a problem. The welcome money is paid by the FRG Government. Thus, it is not a financial burden to us. By the way, last weekend [11-12 November] more than DM200 were paid. Other additional costs, which result for us—the Berlin Transport Authorities need more cars, for instance—have not yet been calculated. However, these expenditures have to be covered within the framework of the budget. I think this is possible. On the other hand, we clearly stated that the FRG Government must help us, for instance in housing construction and also with services, which enable us to take in 2 million visitors on the weekend.

DM: In our country it is registered with a certain concern that rightist forces, such as the "Republicans," for instance, are trying to take advantage of the current situation for their interests and also want to exert influence within the GDR. Do you understand or, perhaps, even share such concerns?

Momper: I think it is not realistic to assume that the Republicans could exert influence on the GDR from the West. Simply because, in my view, the GDR citizens are much too self-confident to let something be forced on them.

I do not want to assume the role of an arbiter, but in the GDR, too, there are movements, such as the skinheads, which are clearly ultrarightist. They may be a minority. But I can imagine that the "Republicans" want to interfere in the general discussion about the GDR and how it wants to shape its future, but this is completely unimportant even here. Mr Schoenhuber has tried to stage demonstrations in West Berlin. One of them took place in front of the Reichstag building. About 100 people were allegedly there. The other demonstrations were of a similar "quality." I think that this is not attractive to anybody.

DM: At a rally last week, here in front of the Schoeneberg Town Hall, there were obviously some differences in opinion between you and Chancellor Kohl. They were caused by the fact that you used the term "people of the GDR" and Mr Kohl did not quite agree with this....

Momper: At a subsequent news conference in Bonn he complained that I am speaking another language, that he must ask himself whether I have the same understanding of the Constitution as he, and that he complains in particular about the fact that I spoke of the people of the GDR. On this I have to say that I leave the judgment of my understanding of the Constitution to others.

But one thing is absolutely clear: Everyone who saw the demonstration on 4 November knows that it really was the people of the GDR who marched through the streets.

I think that one can only agree with the view of Christa Wolf and Stefan Heym: The people took to the streets for their rights and for democracy, and they found themselves there again as one people. This means, the simple fact that the GDR people have established a new identity for themselves through the process of democratization and the struggle for reforms in your country—and I would like to leave the question open of whether they had an identity before or not—is certainly a process which took place there. I can imagine very well that the people develop a dynamism, which some people in the West could certainly take as a model. One has to struggle for democracy every day anew. Some people overlook this.

Free elections, freedom of opinion—all these are matters of course in the West. But there are new dangers, such as data processing as a challenge to preserving the freedom rights of the individual citizen, genetic engineering, or nuclear technology. They all need to be mastered. I was impressed by how peaceful and disciplined this whole movement was, because this is rather exemplary in German history. Stefan Heym said that the German people have always bowed their heads, first to the kaiser, then to the Nazis, and afterward, as I would like to add, also to the democracies brought by the victors, without being imbued with this democracy or having fought for it themselves. One appreciates values for which one has fought oneself much more than those one gets from others for free.

DM: Have you been able to observe from the beginning how the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD], for instance, recognized this deficiency in the GDR relatively easily and spoke up against it?

Momper: Yes, the LDPD did this, and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] then also showed some effect. Both became aware of the fact that they are parties which are rooted among the population. Mr Gerlach presented a great number of the demands which were also posed by the critical opposition groups of the GDR and adopted them for himself. The process within the SED was then similar.

DM: At present a change in the Constitution is discussed in our country, which refers to Section 1. In this connection, do you see the possibility for new stimuli for thought to the discussion about the Basic Law, in this case referring to GDR citizenship?

Momper: The first is one thing and the latter is another. First, the question of the leading role of the SED in the GDR—regardless of what the Constitution says about this and what the SED itself discusses—has been decided by the people in the streets. It became clear that it is not the SED anymore which has the leading role but the people. One can paraphrase Christa Wolf's words: It is not the leadership that marches past the people, but the people who have long marched past the leadership in shaping the social and political reality. Second, I consider the discussion about questions of citizenship rather academic. I do not think that it would be of any help to the GDR if any changes were made in this respect by the FRG Government. The motivation to see a future in one's own country will not arise because of changes in the Basic Law, it must develop in the GDR itself.

Since freedom of travel was granted, many citizens are gaining hope again. Only a few remain in the West. So far we have had about 2.3 million visitors from the GDR in West Berlin. Only a bit more than 7,000 of them stayed here. This is almost the normal rate of movement, which any big city has, given the size of the population.

DM: In addition to the question of citizenship, the GDR has often broached the problem of the Salzgitter Central Registration Office and the border at the Elbe River. How do you see this?

Momper: In our view, the Salzgitter Registration Office does not have any function any more. It is an obsolete relic of the cold war. Therefore, Berlin (West) has stopped its contribution to financing this office for next year. The question of the Elbe border could have been settled with mutual agreement long ago, if Lower Saxony, and the FRG Government, too, had not refused to do so for so long. There are corresponding legal expert opinions, which prove that, on the one hand, the legal situation from the time of occupation law are not so clear as the FRG Government always tries to make everyone believe and, on the other, and independent of this: Practical settlements for the benefit of both sides would have been possible quickly. Therefore, the settlement of this question is long overdue.

DM: Whom do you see as your most important partner in talks in the GDR to discuss economic and cultural cooperation for 1990?

Momper: Of course, the GDR government will be our partner for talks as soon as it has been formed. But also all other political and social groups. Our principle in relations with other states is: We want to have contacts with everyone.

DM: The Social Democratic Party is currently trying to form in the GDR. What is your opinion on this?

Momper: Those who want to form this Social Democratic Party have to decide themselves on what our relations will be like. It is probably obvious that such a party is close to us as Social Democrats.

DM: One of your hobbies is hiking. Will you now also hike in Berlin's surroundings?

Momper: Yes, of course, but I would also like to make a bicycle tour there. And if I could sail on Lake Scharmuetzel, this would be the greatest.

DM: One question in conclusion: How long is a workday of the Berlin (West) mayor at present?

Momper: Long. From 0800 in the morning to 0100 at night.

Mitterrand Plans Visit to GDR 20-22 Dec

LD2111224589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1735 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Paris (ADN)—Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, will make a state visit to the GDR from 20 to 22 December this year. He is accepting an invitation from Egon Krenz, chairman of the GDR Council of State. A corresponding announcement was made on Tuesday by the spokesman of the French President's Office, Hubert Vedrine, in the Elysee Palace in Paris. [passage omitted]

Krenz Discusses 9 Oct Leipzig Demonstration

AU2111154789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Nov 89 p 1

[ND report: "Television Interview With Egon Krenz: Demonstrations Should Not Be Hindered, Neither in Leipzig Nor Anywhere Else"]

[Text] East Berlin—Before the start of the People's Chamber session on Friday [17 November], representatives of various international television stations asked Egon Krenz about his role in preventing a violent escalation at the Monday demonstrations in Leipzig. The general secretary said: "I was in Leipzig and I made it clear there: We are in favor of solving political conflicts only by political means. And I helped in Leipzig to solve these things in this way."

With this statement Egon Krenz referred to his presence in Leipzig on 13 October 1989. Already on 9 October a telephone conversation took place between Egon Krenz and the Leipzig Bezirk leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany around 1915. In this talk, Egon Krenz expressly welcomed the appeal initiated by Kurt Masur, director of the Leipzig Gewandhaus orchestra and five other people from Leipzig, an appeal for prudent behavior at the demonstration in the evening, which had meanwhile started.

On Friday, 13 October, Egon Krenz was in Leipzig and discussed with those responsible in the bezirk all possibilities for ensuring that the demonstrations would be peaceful under any circumstances the following Monday and over the coming weeks. Everyone agreed that demonstrations should not be hindered by the security forces either in Leipzig or anywhere else in the GDR, provided the lives and safety of the citizens were not in danger. Political conflicts can be solved only by political means.

9.5 Million Visas Issued for Private Trips

AU2111153789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "More Than 9.5 Million Visas Have Been Issued"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The spokesman of the Interior Ministry has announced that, in the period from 9 November to Friday morning [17 November], 0800 local time, the German People's Police issued 9,592,237 visas for private trips and 16,151 permits for permanent emigration.

New Forum Chapters Apply for Registration

LD1711214789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2036 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The press office of the GDR Interior Ministry today announced that there are a total of 37 applications to register for the intended founding of the New Forum association at various levels. Of these one was sent to the ministry and was confirmed on 9 November. Fourteen applications were made to the bezirk [area] and 22 to the kreis [district] governments.

The confirmation of registration in the bezirk and kreis occurs as a sovereign decision by these bodies. According to the latest information, such confirmations have been made in eight bezirks and 16 kreis. Other applications to register were withdrawn after the confirmation of registration by the Interior Ministry for the whole territory of the GDR. [passage omitted]

Applications to register the intended foundations of such associations such as Democratic Peace Movement, the Socialist Renewal Citizens' Movement, and one for the Promotion and Observation of the CSCE Process have been submitted to the relevant state bodies, and their confirmation is currently being examined.

Gerlach Supports Government Statement

LD1711122989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1023 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The government statement was a suitable basis for bringing forward the process of democratic reshaping and sweeping changes and making this process irreversible, Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] Chairman Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach said in Berlin today at the 12th People's Chamber meeting, on behalf of his party group.

He described the government program submitted by Prime Minister Dr Hans Modrow as confidence-building. One should not only talk about radical reforms, but should promote them, to fulfill the hopes and expectations of the citizens for a new economic policy. His party's decision to share in the governing responsibility goes hand in hand with a constructive-critical attitude. His party sees itself as a determined opposition against all forces which were preventing renewal.

Professor Gerlach appealed for the introduction of free, equal, universal, and genuinely secret elections within the next year. As far as his party was concerned, there will no longer be a single list for the National Front. The LDPD will soon submit a draft electroral law to the People's Chamber.

The speaker stressed categrorically that socialism was non-negotiable, and that this also applied to his party.

Justice Ministry Discusses Law Amendments

LD1611215689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2008 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR's Justice Ministry is currently preparing the sixth law on amending the criminal law. The second session of the legislative commission responsible took place in Berlin today, which, according to a press release, discussed the first working draft for such a law, chaired by State Secretary Dr Siegfried Wittenbeck.

The aim of the new rules is to work out a draft for a new law on changing the definition of crimes against the GDR as well as of criminal acts against state order. The draft starts from the premise that political conflicts and contradictions can only be solved by political means. Non-violent resistance should not be criminalized. All regulations contrary to this principle should be abolished or made so specific that the borderline between permitted action and that banned by the criminal law is clearly defined for those concerned.

It is specifically planned to fashion the definitions of criminality in the second chapter of the GDR's criminal code so that it will solely be directed toward protecting the constitutional order of the GDR.

The definitions of criminality in the eighth chapter of the criminal code should above all only be directed toward forbidding the use or threat of violence, assaults, insults, or calumnies against citizens in political life.

Within the framework of this legislative work, it was proposed to strike without replacement such criminal acts as treacherous transfer of intelligence (para. 99), trade with people hostile to the state (para. 105), and illegal taking up of a connection (para. 219). With regard to the laws on anti-state incitement (para. 106) and public denigration (para. 220), in future only the glorification of fascism or militarism, as well as incitement to racial hatred, are to be punishable. A law on illegal frontier crossing should in future only serve to protect the state frontier from direct attacks. The laws to date on interference with state and social activities (para. 214) and formation of a mob (para. 217) will be thoroughly reformulated and restricted to violent attacks.

It was further suggested that the much-criticized law on disregarding measures on criminal responsibility (para. 25 section 2) be abolished.

Proposals were also discussed on further extending the protection of citizens under the criminal law against abuse of office and exceeding powers while on duty.

A law on protection against unauthorized bugging is to be included in the criminal code for the first time.

It is to be proposed that a more specific draft on the sixth law on amending the criminal code be handed over for debate to various bodies such as People's Chamber Committees, parties and social organizations, lawyers, and academic lawyers at the beginning of December.

Gerlach Comments on Changes to Constitution

LD1611231489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2201 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] general secretary and state council chairman Erich Honecker has addressed a statement to the SED Central Committee Politburo. [passage omitted]

The first topic of the television discussion was Article No. 1 of the Constitution, which establishes the leading role of the SED. LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] Chairman Dr Manfred Gerlach pleaded for the constitutional equal treatment of all five parties, and hinted that in the People's Chamber session which begins tomorrow all the parties would speak in favor of changing Article 1, and would introduce preliminary steps for a thorough revision of the Constitution.

In response to relevant questions from viewers on the economic consequences of the travel regulations, Gerhard Schuerer shared the worries of many citizens. He announced that negotiations are to be held from Monday with the Polish Government about Polish citizens who trade with GDR goods in West Berlin. The Allies, too, should think about whether it is in accordance with the moral of the situation if Western military personnel can buy goods from the GDR dirt cheap at an exchange rate of 1:10 and 1:11. After all, the anxiety, completely unfounded according to Gerhard Schuerer, of a currency reform also contributed to the difficult situation of GDR citizens. Tomorrow he will give a briefing to the People's Chamber about the state of the GDR's foreign commitments.

A further topic was the attacks by members of the police and the state security service on 7 and 8 October. According to retired General Markus Wolf, former head of counterintelligence, they can be explained by the GDR security doctrine hitherto, "which I personally consider to be wrong." One must wonder if the leadership of the country made a misjudgement and spoke of a counterrevolutionary danger that the reactions turned out accordingly. Professor Gerlach spoke in favor of an intentional parliamentary control of the country's security authorities. That also applies to an "office for national security."

Antifascist Fighters Demand Investigation

LD1811191289 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] The Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters of the GDR has demanded an investigation of the present causes of neo-fascism. Presidium member Kurt Goldstein told ADN that it was known that neo-Nazi activities were spreading in the GDR as well. They were not just infiltrating from outside the borders, but were also the result of wrong developments in our country. Antifascism has for a long time only been treated as the preservation of tradition; but it remains a permanent task.

Calls for Church to Work in Education Sphere

LD1611102689 East Berlin ADN in English 0910 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Experts of the GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences have expressed their interest in business-like cooperation with the Evangelical Church in reforming the GDR education system. In talks here on Wednesday the sides deplored that christian offers for dialogue had not been accepted over the past 15 years.

The vice chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Leaders in the GDR, Bishop Christoph Demke, underlined that the churches fully recognized the separation of state and church and thus the separation of school and church. The Evangelical Church was not aiming at clerical domination in the education system.

GDR State Secretary for Church Affairs, Kurt Loeffler, said aspects of the history of church and religion should be included in the curricula. Many European works of art were hardly understandable without such knowledge, he said.

SED Information Center To Open

LD1611073289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1524 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A consultation and information centre of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee [SED CC] will begin its activities tomorrow. A communication from the CC sent to ADN states that it will be open to all interested citizens, on a daily basis, from 0800 to 2000, including weekends. It will deal with "proposals, comments, and criticism; applications to the extraordinary party congress" and will further "direct contact between the basic organization and the party's CC", and "talks on concrete measures for renewal in accordance with the SED action program."

It is stressed that the center is aiming for "greater democracy and openness in the life of our party".

Convertibility of Currency Discussed

AU2011112589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by Hans-Joachim Dubrowsky of the "Bruno Leuschner" Economics College, Berlin, in response to a reader's question: "Convertibility of the Mark—Can This Be Simply Decreed?"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] A convertible currency is a currency which can be exchanged into other currencies and can be used internationally. [passage omitted]

So far, the socialist states have not or hardly made their currencies convertible. [passage omitted]

In the meantime, new considerations have arisen as a result of the increasingly close interlacing of socialist national economies with the international economy and also because of the increasing number of trips to foreign countries by citizens of socialist countries. Most economists of the CEMA states today think that for the further development of the relations in CEMA (we want to establish a unified market in the future) we need the mutual convertibility of the national currencies of the CEMA countries with the main capitalist currencies. [passage omitted]

However, convertibility cannot be simply decreed and introduced. [passage omitted]

For this it is necessary to shape the national economy in such a way that it is internationally competitive in many fields and thus is able to export goods and services that can be sold on the foreign markets with the highest possible profit. Our economic strategy has to concentrate on this, because in exports and imports we depend very much on foreign trade. For convertibility high export surpluses are necessary in order to be able to exchange our currency into foreign currency at any time and to establish appropriate currency reserves.

Furthermore, by means of an attractive range of goods at home, we have to make sure that foreigners want to come to us and "leave" their money here. [passage omitted]

A certain protection—differentiated according to sector—against overly powerful foreign competition from capitalist states with unacceptable social consequences in our country can be achieved through duties on imported goods, for instance. (However, in the GDR there are not yet any such duties in foreign trade). We also have to be careful to see that our currency is not manipulated on foreign markets and that we do not suffer any damage because of this.

Turning the GDR Mark Into a "Hard" Currency

Too quick a development of convertibility can endanger our external liquidity. Any precipitate movement would, therefore, only be harmful. We have to establish solid bases. We need an entire strategy in order to achieve a gradual expansion of convertibility, because convertibility is a very complicated thing. Above all, we have to introduce purposeful steps to turn the GDR mark into a "hard" currency with which one can buy at home and abroad without any problem those goods and services that are in demand nationally and internationally. This depends, first and foremost, on how we are able in the future to face the harsh international competition as regards costs, quality, service, and speed of innovation.

It is also important that we attribute great importance to monetary stability in our economic strategy. Because a convertible currency should distinguish itself through a high stability of the value of the currency in line with international standards, if it wants to stand its ground. Therefore, the introduction or extension of the convertibility of the GDR mark will also bring about a more intensive "cultivation" of our currency in the sense of low price increases and limited issuing of money (money supply policy) than has existed so far.

The basis for a gradual development of the convertibility of our currency certainly exists because of the potential of our national economy. What is necessary now is a clear strategy as well as energetic action.

Deputy State Security Minister on Renewal

AU2111134589 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 13 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with GDR Deputy State Security Minister Lieutenant General Wolfgang Schwanitz by Ines Krause: "Renewal Does Not Keep Clear of Us"—date and place not given]

[Text] Krause: What impact does the new thinking in our country have on the State Security Ministry?

Schwanitz: We fully back the policy of revolutionary renewal of socialism. This has, for instance, become manifest in the fact that we are thinking hard about the redefinition of our tasks and an improvement in the effectiveness of our work, so that we can resolve it with fewer people and fewer funds.

Krause: Since Thursday night [9 November], the renewal of socialism has also meant freedom of travel for the GDR citizens. How did the members of your ministry take this settlement?

Schwanitz: The members of our ministry do not live in a vacuum. They welcomed the draft travel law, but some also criticized it. The new settlement has confronted us with new tasks. We had to suddenly employ several hundred staffers to cope with the "migration of peoples" at the border crossings with the members of the border troops and the customs organs. You can imagine what serious dangers could otherwise emerge on this sensitive border—dangers to the policy of renewal and to peace and security in this region.

Voluntarily and Without a Penny

Allow me to make a very personal remark. In this mission, our members have been doing a great job and have been working many extra hours. People often say that the "Stasi" [State Security] members get very high salaries. They do not get a penny more for this additional work, and I tell you quite frankly that others would reject work under these conditions in which they are abused and in some cases even spit at from the other side of the state border.

Krause: Mr. minister, can the members of your ministry also travel?

Schwanitz: In this respect, we also proceed from the principle of confidence in our members. We will, of course, also open up new traveling opportunities to our members, in addition to the possibilities that already exist. One thing is sure: As soon as the travel law enters into force, we will also have our own internal official regulations.

Restrictions Owing to the FRG's Obligation To Take Care of GDR Citizens

There are, of course, certain restrictions for the members of the State Security Ministry. No security organ and no intelligence service of this globe differs in this respect, and our staffers know and accept that. For instance, one such restriction results from some abnormal factors in the relations between the two German states or the GDR and Berlin (West). I am talking about the FRG's obligation to take care of GDR citizens, and the Salzgitter registration office. We must protect our staffers from arbitrary acts by FRG and West Berlin judicial organs. If we had normal relations, as are customary between states, things would be different.

Krause: The measures suggested in the action program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which are aimed at more legal security and an improvement in the rule of law, also include a future law on state security. What substantive emphasis would you advocate in this connection?

Schwanitz: A very important starting point would be the clear statement that the work of the State Security Ministry will above all be confined to combating anticonstitutional activities and rules out work against dissenters. We are unconditionally in favor of such a law, and we welcome increased social supervision by the People's Chamber or a responsible People's Chamber committee. We are also in favor of more openness in our work, because we feel that our partial reservedness does not have a positive effect on the trusting relationship between the people and the State Security Ministry, a relationship that we need as a basis for our work.

Krause: Does the announced employment of 1,200 members of your Ministry in the brown-coal sector mean that they will resign from the ministry? Will there be additional steps taken in this direction?

Schwanitz: Our ministry has never stayed at a distance from the problems concerning our national economy. We have released manpower for other tasks for at least 6 years. In 1987, 1,000 were released, and in 1988, many more than 1,000. The figures this year were published. There are also more far-reaching considerations of a very serious nature. It should be taken into account in this respect that other staffers do the work of those who have to temporarily work in production. To answer your question concretely, the staffers who have been delegated remain members of the ministry.

Krause: Mr. minister, could you cite examples of which enterprises in which your staffers have worked?

Schwanitz: For example, they have worked in the Brandenburg gear works, in the Halle electrical goods combine, in the Berlin REWATEX combine, and in electrifying sections of the Deutsche Reichsbahn. Our staffers have done an excellent job during their missions. This has been confirmed by workers as well as enterprise directors. For instance, Director Triemer of the Scharfenstein state enterprise wrote us such a letter on the work of 40 staffers of our ministry on 20 October 1989.

Regarding the Topic of "Stasi Into Production"

Let me give you another example on which the Karl-Marx-Stadt FREIE PRESSE reported recently. We had been ordered to try to find the causes of the grave shortcomings in the quality of the automatic electronic 861 washing machine. It was discovered that the supplied controls were old-fashioned and in addition, were installed unchecked. Asked how long it would take to develop a new reliable control, they told us that it would take between 3 and 5 years. We doubted that and set out to work. After 3 weeks, in cooperation with qualified experts, the first laboratory model of an electronic control was completed; a revised form of this electronic control has proved useful until today.

What does that mean? We can look our working people straight in the eye. In these days and weeks, we have heard the people shout a thousand times in front of our offices, "Stasi into production." By the steadiness of our work, we prove who we are, in production too.

Krause: Are there any plans for additional missions?

Schwanitz: We do not have time; we do that very quickly. We coordinate the delegation of our staffers with the organs of economic management so that our staffers are employed in important areas. Further decisions will be made in the coming days.

Krause: Thank you for the interview and the uncomplicated way in which it came about.

Diplomatic Relations Talks With Vatican Begin

LD2111180689 Budapest MTI in English 1543 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Vatican City, November 21 (MTI)—Discussions have begun in Vatican City between representatives of the Hungarian Government and the Holy See on the establishment of diplomatic relations.

The Hungarian delegation is headed by Barna Nagy Sarkadi, head of the Secretariat for Church Affairs affiliated to the government, while the Vatican delegation is led by Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno.

An earlier exchange of letters between Cardinal Bishop Agostino Casaroli, secretary of state and prefect of the Council for the Public Affairs of the church, and Miklos Nemeth, Hungarian prime minister, confirmed the readiness of the sides to re-establish diplomatic relations, which were broken off after the Second World War.

The first stage of the related discussions are expected to last until Thursday.

FRG's Genscher To Pay Return Visit 23 Nov

LD2111140889 Budapest MTI in English 1313 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 21, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice-chancellor and foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, is to come to Budapest on Thursday, November 23, to attend the regular annual meetings of Hungarian and West German foreign ministers.

Herr Genscher is to have talks with foreign minister Gyula Horn, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, and some opposition leaders.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry says Herr Genscher and Mr Horn will be in a position to assess relations that have seen an unprecedented expansion lately and which the political developments of the past four weeks have made even more profound and intense.

There is a great deal of favourable development in the field of economic contacs as well. The FRG is Hungary's principal western trade partner, and its second biggest economic partner after the Soviet Union. It shares 10 percent of Hungary's overall trade. In 1988, Hungarian-FRG trade amounted to 5 billion DM, and although Hungary managed to reduce its trade deficit by 200 million DM last year, it still remained 496 million DM in the red.

Two-way trade has undergone a dynamic development so far this year: Some forecasts are even predicitng a record turnover of 6 billion DM for 1989. Still, Hungary can't afford to rest on its laurels with that record trade figure, since the proportion of imports is far to high and the structure of trade is far from being perfect, either. Energy, materials and farm products dominate Hungarian exports, a tell-tale sign of the relative backwardness of the country.

At the moment, 150 Hungarian-West German joint ventures are operating in Hungary, and more are on the way. Most of them are on the small side, though, and account for a marginal fraction of bilateral trade.

During Herr Genscher's visit, representatives of the National Bank of Hungary, the Deutche Bank AG of Frankfurt, and the Deutche Bank of Luxembourg are to sign a 500-million-DM credit agreement. It is believed here that the terms of that credit, as far as actual utilization goes, will be more lenient than those of the first 500-million-DM loan signed in October.

Bulgarian Prospects for Change Assessed

AU2211100189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Nov 89 p 6

[Article by Oszkar Fuzes: "Bulgaria: Continuity Is Out of Breath"]

[Excerpts] After 35 years, Todor Zhivkov has bid farewell to two positions as Bulgaria's first man. Peter Mladenov took over his position as party general secretary, and a head of state will be elected later. This seemingly unexpected change is only partially explained by the reform processes under way in eastern Europe.

In fact, Todor Zhivkov's resignation took only the Bulgarians by surprise, at least those who get their informations only from the local press. This press continued to claim that the Bulgarian restructuring—preustrojstvo—was proceeding firmly and vigorously. All the more so since the pillars of this process had already been laid down in April 1956, and this process has been constantly adapted to requirements ever since. [passage omitted]

Although Zhivkov has tried to develop state-socialism with partial reforms for more than 2 decades, these efforts have always considerably zigzagged and been slightly autocratic. All this has gradually upset the Bulgarian economy which, in the sixties, was still undergoing a historically unparalleled development. [passage omitted]

There has never been a strong opposition in Bulgaria. There have never been anti-Soviet or anti-Russian feelings here, and the traditions of the revolutionary peasants movement and of the Communist Party are strong. There were barely bourgeois or social-democratic forces in this country.

Public discontent has never been of a political nature, at least not until recently.

Environmentalists started to emerge 10 years ago. The state has always dealt with them brutally, even when the state itself recognized that the situation was serious indeed. Sometimes, the population of Ruse, a town situated on the border with Romania, should wear gas-masks in the real sense of the word, as the neighboring Romanian chemical factory is belching poisonous gases. Environmental pollution is extremely heavy in several areas surrounded by industrial enterprises, and the state of the rivers is also alarming.

Zhivkov and his entourage took criticism almost as a personal affront; all the more so on the ethnic issue. Recognition of national minorities did not have any place in the official concept of the Bulgarian national unity process, and even the very existence of a national minority has been ignored since the middle of the fifties. At the beginning, this position increased tension with Yugoslavia, on the issue of Macedonians, and later, tension also increased with Turkey for the same reasons. [passage omitted]

By the middle of 1989, the economic and supply difficulties became so serious that the younger generation of leaders gradually turned against the "April line," something that previously could not be questioned even behind the scenes. However, the most recent developments in Eastern Europe seem to justify the younger generation. Although rumors had it that the most consistent advocate of reforms, Politburo member and Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov would soon be dismissed, it was in fact Zhivkov who had to go and Mladenov became the new general secretary. [passage omitted]

Mladenov's first statements as party general secretary are promising radical changes. Although the leading position of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] is not threatened, the party will have to take the issues of civil rights and the constitutional state more seriously than hitherto. The economy has at least to start on the road leading out of the crisis. The concrete plans will probably be worked out by the time of the party congress due in 1 year from now. One can imagine that this congress will provide as many surprises as Mladenov's "clean-up," which will probably start soon.

Hungarian Journalist on Mistreatment in Prague

AU2211111689 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 16 Nov 89 p 2

[Peter Lang's report: "MAGYAR NEMZET Correspondent Beaten Up in Prague—Asking for Identification Papers in the Czeckoslovak Way—Demonstration on Both Banks of the Moldva River"]

[Text] The author of these lines also had the opportunity to experience the way in which the CSSR police "identify" people. After watching from a distance the students' demonstration and the authorities' interference at the Charles Bridge in Prague on 15 November, police surrounded me. One of them took hold of the MAGYAR NEMZET correspondent and hit him in the stomach with full force while shouting: "documents"; if our newspaper's permanent correspondent in Prague offered resistance, obviously there would have been a continuation to the affair; this way, the police only took his notebook and threatened him. What for? Because, exercising his journalist job, he wanted to see the events personally, just like his colleagues, the reporters of the CNN and REUTER, who were leaving the area together with him. Perhaps the problem is that the journalist in question was Hungarian?

Besides, some 1,500 young people demonstrated near the Old City, in front of the Mayor's Office in the evening of 15 November to protest the planned highway tunnel under the Stromovka Park, the famous green area of the city. The demonstration lasted barely 1 hour, and the young people shouted slogans like: "dialogue, dialogue" and then started walking across the Charles Bridge to the Neruda Street where followers of the Radical Party were holding a silent demonstration in front of the Romanian Embassy to protest the village destruction and the Ceausescu regime. However, the police did not allow the young people to pass the bridge; as a response, the young people knelt down, sang John Lennon songs, and started shouting slogans like "Power in Unity", "Our Hands Are Empty", "Germany", and "We Want To Live" accompanied by applause. The police then interfered and dispersed the crowd. Thus, only some 70 people gathered in the Neruda Street on the other side of the Moldva River. They opened banners in front of the Romanian Embassy with the following text in English: "Hey, Ceausescu, You make Stalin happy." The young people lit candles and, when the police confiscated the banners, they peacefully left the place after some arguing.

Reportage on Nov National Assembly Session

Session Opens

LD2111095289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The November session of the National Assembly is commencing its work in Budapest at this very moment. Andras Kerekes reports.

[Kerekes] At its session, planned to last 4 days, the National Assembly will deal with 11 agenda points as well as with questions and interpellations. However, there are many more subjects than this, for the fourth agenda point encompasses five subpoints on the tax issue, and lively debate can be expected every step of the way. Before establishing the order of topics for the session, decisions will be made on whether to place various independent initiatives from deputies on the agenda or not, and a personnel issue will be decided. Premier Miklos Nemeth wants to release Laszlo Marothy, minister for environmental protection and water affairs. His letter will be read by the National Assembly clerk. Knowing the state of public opinion, and the parliament's opinion on this question, the decision cannot be in doubt. Laszlo Marothy will, however, remain a deputy, until his mandate expires.

After this, the government briefing on its economic policy program for the next 3 years will be submitted by

Erno Kemenes, chairman of the National Planning Office. Then Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi will brief the legislature on the principles of the direction of next year's budget.

Following this come the tax issues, also submitted by the finance minister. At this session, they will also debate the amendments to the law on levies, the Labor Code, and the Civil Code. Furthermore, they will amend several laws whose old wording and spirit cannot be reconciled with the amended constitution.

Finally, the deputies will also decide on personnel issues.

Decision Postponed on Marothy

LD2111114189 Budapest MTI in English 1004 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)—The November session of the Hungarian National Assembly started in Budapest on Tuesday. The MPs [Members of Parliament] approved the agenda including 13 items. As the first item, Parliament discussed a personnel issue: Laszlo Marothy, minister of environmental protection and water management, filed his resignation to Parliament.

For lack of a quorum, the National Assembly did not accept the resignation of Laszlo Marothy, minister of environmental protection and water management. The resignation was accepted by 135 MPs, opposed by 124, and there were 66 abstentions.

Confusion prevailed following the vote: Were MPs entitled not to accept the resignation of a minister, and was a resignation only subject to parliamentary approval if it had been initiated by the prime minister?

Finally, the speaker ordered a short recess and convened the legal committee.

Committee Discusses Marothy

LD2111153989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] There was an unexpected turn of events in the Parliament session which commenced at 1000. Andras Kerekes and Attila Nemeth-Miklos report.

It was truly an unexpected turn of events which dislocated the Parliament from its schedule. Deputies at this moment are speaking in groups in the corridor instead of listening to a report on the government's 3-year economic program. True, not all of them can enjoy the recess for the members of the Legal Committee have work to do.

The Legal Committee has to find a solution to the case which it seems they did not count upon, for no quick solution seems in the offing, indeed the committee has been in session for over an hour.

The issue in question is to relieve Laszlo Marothy, minister for environmental protection and water affairs, from office. As transpired from Miklos Nemeth's letter, the minister handed in his resignation on 9 November. The premier accepted this and asked the legislative body to take cognizance of his decision, and also of the fact that he will appoint the new minister later.

It is lucky he did not rush things, for after this Laszlo Marothy asked to speak, and gave a rousing speech. He emphasized above all else that his decision had a political reason. In the coming period, the government has to be a stabilizing factor. However, there is no political party of determining force behind it, thus its situation is difficult. Although the political forces are manifold, they have not been (?tested) either within the organization or nationally. Thus, the government must be supported. With this step he wishes to help this.

He also said that in the coming years we will have problems in the area of energetics; furthermore, that we will also have to pay compensation over the water barrage although not much is said about this nowadays. A reproach could be felt from his words, (?also toward) Zoltan Kiraly and the mass media too.

Laszlo Marothy's speech was received with great applause. Then came the vote, and the surprise. Less than half the deputies voted in favor of the minister's departure.

Dr Istvan Fodor, acting speaker, did not know what to do. Thus he asked for advice from Justice Minister Dr Kalman Kulcsar, who said that if Laszlo Marothy has resigned, the National Assembly does not have the right not to take cognizance of this. However, if the premier wishes to relieve him of office, then naturally the situation is different.

The acting speaker then turned to Laszlo Marothy, but we did not hear a reply. At the request of Jeno Horvath, a recess was declared, and the Legal Committee has been in session ever since.

During the recess, Attila Nemeth-Miklos asked the speaker of the National Assembly, Istvan Fodor, for an interview.

[Begin recording] [Nemeth-Miklos] What is the situation? Does the government have a minister for environmental protection or not?

[Fodor] At this moment it does, but I think that the committee will interpret this legal regulation. When I was coming out, the (?experts were debating this,) and could not agree.

[Nemeth-Miklos] From the speaker's chair, you first gave Laszlo Marothy leave to speak and then finally you gave Jeno Horvath leave to speak, not Marothy. Why did you not listen to Laszlo Marothy?

[Fodor] Because he did not want to speak. I was curious to know his opinion, whether he would withdraw his resignation after having seen the vote, but he did not wish to speak. He unequivocally insists on his resignation.

[Nemeth-Miklos] In such a case, can the Parliament, if it likes, reinstate him?

[Fodor] Well, I am not a legal expert, but from a human point of view my opinion is that if somebody does not wish to fill a post, he cannot be forced to do this. This is his human right.

[Nemeth-Miklos] Quite honestly, did you count on this Parliament making such a decision in connection with Laszlo Marothy's ministerial position?

[Fodor] It was not a complete surprise to me, primarily because he resolutely stuck to an earlier notion of his. It seems that this resoluteness is a much respected value in our society today. [end recording]

[Kerekes] I would only add that earlier, the deputes approved the (?agenda). Then Gyorgy Banffy proposed that the present Parliament declare its dissolution for 11 December, and that the acting president of the Republic should set the general elections for 11 March, and set the electon of the president of the Republic for this date too, if this is still valid after the 26 November referendum. The National Assembly will make a decision during this session.

Accepts Marothy Resignation

LD2111123489 Budapest MTI in English 1200 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)—Following a two-hour recess in the parliamentary session during which parliament's legal, administrative and justice committee sat, MPs [Members of Parliament] accepted the resignation of Laszlo Marothy, minister of environmental protection and water management, without a vote.

Following the break, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth told the National Assembly that he himself was in favour of the resignation Mr Marothy had tendered in writing.

Mr Marothy then requested the floor to confirm his decision.

The new minister will be appointed by the prime minister at a later stage.

Nemeth Briefs Assembly

LD2111152389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] At the morning session of Parliament, Premier Miklos Nemeth gave a briefing on the country's financial situation, the government's international relations, and on the internal political situation in Hungary. Andras Kerekes reports from the National Assembly:

[Kerekes] Premier Miklos Nemeth introduced the debate on the government's 3-year economic program with a speech of great significance which lasted over an hour.

Before all else, he referred to the fact that while it is easy to find the common denominator in the creation of the fundamental institutions of a democratic constitutional state, the government's efforts to solve the economic crisis would gladly be torpedoed by many people, motivated either by party interests or because they do not realize the limits of possible action, and the unavoidable nature of necessary actions.

In the economy, the dismantling of old structures is very agonizing, and the construction of new ones requires great sacrifices.

The premier gave a briefing on the country's real debt situation. He reminded us that the root of the problem is Stalinism, or rather that which Stalinism, under the name of political-economic study in socialism raised to legal force, that is that the central budget, which deals with everything, is at least balanced. However, after the change in world prices which started in the begining of the 70s and which caused huge upheavals, since there was no structure transformation, this could only be achieved with the involvement of external resources. We covered the seemingly calm development from foreign loans. By 1979, $9 billion of debt had accumulated. Then the gradual adjustment of internal consumption to the actual incomes was started, and the situation was improved somewhat, but later our financial situation deteriorated again. True, our joining the IMF did help us—our real situation had to be touched up a little for this—but later, the political leadership, which enjoyed the support of certain circles of the economic and financial organizations and that of most trade union leaders, did not tolerate any longer an economic policy which yielded results but which truly was restrictive in nature, and they again enlivened the economy.

With this, between 1985 and 1987, the debt again doubled, the budget deficit again swelled to enormous proportions. Although the this rot halted in 1988, at the same time measures were taken such as the introduction of the world passport, and ill-thought out customs regulations, which of course were popular with the population at the time, but which menacingly foreshadowed unfavorable tendencies.

The government chairman acknowledged his responsibility, for, although he recognized the untenability of the situation, he still did not take measures against it. When he did—for example with the declaration of the latest hard currency regulation—the government acted late and in a way which cannot be well explained.

The population cannot be held responsible for the fact that, within given rules, they at least try to act rationally, Premier Miklos Nemeth emphasized.

He went on to say that the total gross debt will reach $20 billion by the end of this year, and the net debt will exceed $14 billion. The total debt of the state budget will reach 1.1 trillion forints by the end of the year. This corresponds in size to the value in forints of the external gross debt stock.

The government is committed to opening a new historical phase in the life of the country, and it is convinced that this can only be done successfully by starting with a clean page. The path in itself will be difficult and tortuous, but it is unavoidable for us to see it through. For this, however, it is very important that the various participants in political life do not concentrate their internal forces on destroying each other.

The chairman of the government spoke about the favorable international conditions and the foreign political activity of the Hungarian Government. He evaluated the political situation, emphasizing that the government is a national government responsible to Parliament, and this at the same time also means that it endeavors for an integrating rule, it consults with the various parties and social movements. He especially mentioned that a way of transforming the structure which does not try to solve human worries too, with the uncovering of the possibilities, is not feasible. At the same time we cannot undertake the kind of growth and enlivening of enterprise which is not based on the transformation of the structure.

The premier also briefed Parliament on the tangle of political and moral problems which have arisen in the army. He had already spoken about this at the meeting of the Hungarian Army command yesterday. He said that he had spoken to Lajos Czinege several times, and after this the retired deputy premier had resigned from his rank of army general and offered to move out of his apartment. Furthermore, on his instructions, the defense minister will give a report, with a time limit of 1 December on all the significant allegations of the Bokor book which the premier will hand over to the parliamentary investigatory committee.

3-Year Program Presented

LD2111163589 Budapest MTI in English
1428 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 21, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The overall performance of the economy shows a slight improvement this year, with an expected 1 percent growth in the GDP, said Mr Erno Kemenes, president of the Hungarian Planning Office, who presented the government's three-year programme to the Tuesday session of Parliament.

The convertible trade surplus at 500 million USD, and consumer price inflation at 15-17 percent, will more or less match last year's figures.

The fact that the restructuring of the economy has gathered speed is seen as a favourable tendency. About 1,000 new, mainly small, ventures have emerged in the field of industry, standing for a 5 percent increase in the volume of exports and an 8 percent growth in hard-currency incomes.

The 500 million USD convertible trade surplus, the 1.4 billion USD debt service, and the 400-500 million USD tourism balance deficit will probably leave the country's convertible current account 1.3-1.5 billion USD in the red.

The real consumption of the population has been growing by 1.5 percent this year, and its import-based consumption, owing to a heavy increase in shopping tourism, is growing by 4 percent.

Like Hungary, most of the COMECON member countries have crises of varying degrees to contend with, and so the government scheme reckons with a further decline in COMECON trade contacts.

Following a 5 percent decrease in imports from the COMECON this year, a 3-5 percent drop is planned for 1990, and an accompanying 14-16 percent cut in exports. (In some industries, i.e., the engineering industry, this might even go up to 30 percent). This seems to be the only option to prevent the rouble trade balance surplus from reaching intolerable proportions. These measures may dampen the growth chances of the GDP by 2 percentage points next year.

There will apparently be two critical points as far as the country's western relations go: One is the access of markets, and the other external financing. An agreement with the International Monetary Fund is viewed as of outstanding importance for Hungary, Mr Kemenes said.

The government scheme proposes giving more scope to market forces in stimulating economic performance. Import competition will be widened, rouble trade placed on market bases, and a new venture-stimulating programme launched.

The government intends going ahead with its economic liberalization policy, which involves a decentralized foreign exchange management system, further liberalization of prices and wages, and revision of 1,000 economic regulation and administrative measures.

The government hopes that at least half-a-billion USD in foreign working capital will flow into the country next year, in addition to the current total of about 450 million USD.

The government is intent on continuing its policy of implementing a budget and monetary squeeze.

Kemenes Report on Economic Plan

LD2211042889 Budapest MTI in English
0037 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)—Erno Kemenes, president of the National Planning Office, in his report on the government's economic policy scheme for 1990-92, summarized the aims of the government as European integration, technological and economic restructuring, the setting up a market economy at an accelerated pace, and the easing of social problems.

Mr Kemenes pointed out that the Hungarian economy is faced by the double challenge of structural and payment difficulties. In this specific stagflationary situation, the government gave priority to halting the process of indebtedness and consolidating the international payments balance. As a result of the liberalization economic policy adopted this year, total economic performance is expected to show slight improvement for the whole of the year, with a 1 percent growth in GDP and a stable hard-currency trade surplus and rate of inflation. However, despite the approximately 500,000 million dollar trade surplus, the balance of hard-currency payments is likely to show a deficit of 1,300-1,500 million dollars owing to the increasing interest liabilities (approx. 1,400 million dollars) and the 400-500 million dollars deficit of the tourist foreign exchange balance caused by foreign currency used by the population.

Most CMEA countries are confronted with similar difficulties. In the rouble relation, the 3-5 percent drop in imports and the average 14-16 percent rise in exports (30 percent in some areas) forecast for next year threaten disastrous consequences for certain branches. All this would reduce the potential economic growth by 2 percent in 1990.

Erno Kemenes mentioned two acute problems from the aspect of Western relations—the provision of business opportunities and the external financing of the economy. There seems to be a realistic chance for catching up with the European integrational process, and external financing also appears viable provided economic performances improve, political stability is ensured, and an agreement concluded with the International Monetary Fund.

The government intends to step up efforts to create the institutions of a market economy, encourage ventures, enhance market competition, curtail subsidies, reform property relations, carry out privatization, and liberalize the wage system. Such reforms, however, cannot bring unacceptable economic and social conflicts. More importance is to be given to foreign capital in accelerating the required economic changes. Government experts put the import of working capital at some 500,000 million dollars a year.

National Bank President Speech

*LD2211043389 Budapest MTI in English
0123 GMT 22 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)—The economic policy errors of the past year have added to the severe economic problems inherited from the past decades, Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary, said in contribution to Erno Kemenes report.

Mr Bartha stated that a realistic assessment of foreign debt and actual state debt, the liberalization of prices, wages, imports, foreign capital involvement and travel abroad, the demands to halt inflation, keep the increase in foreign indebtedness within planned limits coordinated with creditors, increase choice, spur the formation of ventures and accelerate restructuring raise the need to adopt a different and more resolute economic policy line.

This situation should imply stricter regulation of the domestic financial balance and demand, more restraint in state spending, alleviation of excessive money and credit policy restrictions, strengthening the regulatory function of market prices, as well as a more active and more flexible exchange rate, customs and interest policy, he said.

The transformation of state enterprises into public limited companies, development of the capital market, privatization, the involvement of foreign working capital and adequate control of CMEA traffic are actively used by the leadership to speed the pace of restructuring, strengthen economic discipline and improve external and internal financial standing.

Mr Bartha proposed the government should conclude an agreement with international financial organizations so that the economic reform be based on secure external financing.

The National Bank president called for an issuing bank law to be drafted to place the bank under direct parliamentary control and eliminate its present subordination to the government.

Finally, Mr Bartha proposed parliament should confirm the government scheme, and stressed that the principle and demand to keep inflation and the loss of the national currency's importance at the lowest possible level should be consistently put into practice.

Assembly Roundup

*LD2111234789 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Nov 89*

[Unidentified correspondent's roundup of events at 21 November National Assembly session; Nemeth remarks are recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Now follows a roundup on today's events at the National Assembly. Our correspondent's report:

[Correspondent] In an introduction to the government's 3-year economic program, Miklos Nemeth pointed out that the matters which must be decided on by the deputies at this and the next session will not be welcomed with cheers by tens of thousands of people on Kossuth Square. It was easier to reach a common denominator in creating the basis institutions of a democratic legal state, than in government endeavors aimed at resolving the economic crisis. In the economy, the dismantling of the old structures is more agonizing, and the building of new ones requires great sacrifices. In order to accomplish the tasks, there is a stronger requirement for Parliament and government to cooperate, said the premier.

He first gave a briefing on the country's real debt situation. The burden is enormous, and it restricts economic policy's scope of maneuver to a very great extent. It simply determines the steps which a government of no matter what composition must take if it wants the country's economy to function. He pointed out that the root of the problem can be sought in the Stalinist concept, that the central budget, which attended to everything, was at least balanced.

The world market price changes which got underway in the early '70s and caused enormous upheavals were not reflected in Hungarian prices. This meant that the budget, with enormous outlays, protected the enterprises and the population from the external influences. The country lived as if everything was in order. Behind the apparently calm development were foreign credits. In 1979, the debt had reached 9 billion dollars.

The debt-repayments and interests required more money than could be siphoned off without serious upheaval. For this reason, it was necessary to steadily take on further credits. The Premier said that in the early '80s, the international monetary world was disturbed by several political and financial crises. We, too, were threatened with financial collapse. It was necessary to seek a buttress. For this, it was most convenient to join the International Monetary Fund. For this, it was necessary to cosmeticize the real situation somewhat. However, it was unequivocal that with the assistance of the Monetary Fund, we could master our payments problems.

[Nemeth] The 2-3 years after admission appeared to verify the correctness of the decision. As a result of the financial cooperation realized with the Monetary Fund, we managed to avert a payments crisis, and the rigorous economic policy which was shaped and followed results in an improvement of the financial balance. In a short time, the growth of debts halted, indeed in 1984 the debts decreased. However, the political leadership, which enjoyed the support of certain circles of economic and financial organizations, as well as the main trade union leaders, did not further tolerate the economic policy which yielded results and really had a constraining character, and it issued the slogan: there has been enough of slinking around, the economy must be livened up, activated. And without having done anything resolute for a transformation of the structure, they wanted to give impetus to the growth. Imports, investments grew, consumption rose, and between 1985-87, the debt again doubled, the budget deficit which temporarily had been balanced again swelled to enormous proportions.

[Correspondent] Miklos Nemeth then said that there had been success in curbing the deterioration last year, but simultaneously measures were taken which were popular among the people, although they menacingly foreshadowed the unfavorable tendencies. Neither did he make a secret of his own responsibility. Although he had recognized the untenability of the situation, he had done nothing to counteract it. When he took action, such as for example, by issuing the most recent hard-currency decree, the government acted strangely and in a manner which could not be well explained. However, the population cannot be made responsible for the fact that within given rules, they at least try to act rationally, emphasized Premier Miklos Nemeth.

The government now is in a situation of being able to give Parliament, public opinion, and the foreign partners a genuinely credible picture of the country's financial situation. Thus by the end of this year the total gross debt will reach $20 billion. Net debts will exceed 14 billion. The total debt of the state budget will reach 1.1 trillion forints by the end of the year. Miklos Nemeth said that confidence and readiness to provide support among most of the foreign partners is not an empty phrase. Initially, there were indications that those in the West would realize their intentions to provide assistance only after the elections, dependent on their results.

[Nemeth] The fact deny these speculations. The majority of the Western countries are not waiting until the elections. They are awaiting only one thing: a firm reform policy aimed at and supporting transformation, consistent economic policy, and an orderly peaceful transition. Thus, that is what we also want. They have made it unequivocal: they support not persons or parties but the transformation process.

[Correspondent] However, they can help only if the necessary steps are not delayed here at home, and if the internal forces are not concentrated on destroying one another, the premier warned. He also said that all this does not mean that our system of foreign relations, after the previous one-sidedness, will now be based on a one-sidedness with the opposite sign.

[Nemeth] If ever, now is the time that our basic national interest really is that the many-sided system of relations of Hungary and the Soviet Union should be a mature, balanced relations between independent, sovereign countries, which is based on equality, mutual advantages, noninterference, a respect for national characteristics, a freedom of path-seeking.

[Correspondent] With regard to the country's political situation, the basic question is whether we are able to get to the elections by legal, constitutional means. For this, Parliament and its government need the help of the parties.

[Nemeth] A peaceful transition and orderly conduct of the elections are an elemental interest of every level and responsible political force of the Republic of Hungary. Taking this as a point of departure, I have begun consultations with the leaders of the parties which lay claim to this, and I plan to continue these.

[Correspondent] The consultations are taking place on the date of elections and on the political schedule of the period until then, on the consultative relations of Parliament and government, as well as of the parties, and moreover, on the main issues of essential economic and social policy. The premier analysed what it means that in the new constitutional order the government is answerable to a Parliament which embodies the sovereignty of the people. The expression, independent and national government, describes the status of the Hungarian Government within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, as well as that in the complex period of transition. It considers all-national interest to be above everything else. At the same time, the government is independent of the parties and the social movements, the premier said. He continued:

[Nemeth] Of course, the government has a political image, commitment. It has never made a secret of this. As a body the Council of Ministers is committed to left-wing European socialist progressive values, and its members fully accept these values. They support and respect the human and citizens' rights, the citizens' economic, social and political collectives which are organized and function spontaneously. Thus, the government is supported by the Hungarian Socialist Party, by its parliamentary faction, but it also counts on every progressive political force in and outside Parliament, which is committed to a peaceful transition.

[Correspondent] Government, in the interest of maintaining the country's ability to function, undertakes and initiates every necessary measure. Whether its measures are popular or unpopular simply cannot figure amid its viewpoints, because otherwise there will be no structure transformation, there will be no reviving of enterprise, there will be no market. Yet rapid inflation and poverty could take root.

A manner of structure transformation that does not attempt, by exploring the possibilities, to resolve human problems is not feasible. At the same time, growth and enterprise revival that are not based on transforming the economic structure cannot be undertaken.

He turned to a question that affects many people, that with the dismantling of the party state many people lost confidence in state administration, because they do not yet sense the protective net of democracy behind them. The interest of every party, the entire country, is that the ability of state administration to function should remain. Government is an avowed opponent of every kind of witchhunting, not merely for moral reasons, but because this would cause the country great harm. He announced that the Council of Ministers has accelerated the preparation of the law on public service. Thus, this matter can be settled in a comprehensive and lasting way. Hoarders, infringers of the law, those who abuse power have to bear the consequences of earlier life, but decent people who have prepared themselves and have high moral standards must not be afraid. In the future, the sole criterion for everyone, regarding every job, will be professional knowledge or expertise, but this must be demanded of everyone, from doormen to ministers, said Miklos Nemeth.

In the concluding part of his speech, he spoke about the political, moral situation which has taken shape in the army. He recalled that after the book by Col Imre Bokor, who has since retired, was published, a parliamentary committee had been set up. He instructed the defense minister to give a report with a deadline of 1 December on all significant allegations in the book, and he also asked him to report on the changes that have been implemented in the past years, or are planned, in the army's organization and its personnel staff. This month the government will decide on initiatives that have the purpose of modernizing the organizational structure of the armed forces and the Defense Ministry. It will make its decisions public. Its intention is also to realize the possible, further staff cuts, including a reduction in time of military service.

He said that he had spoken with Lajos Czinege on several occasions; after this, the retired deputy premier resigned from his rank as army general and offered to move out of his apartment.

Miklos Nemeth said that it was important that the incorrectness of the conduct of certain previous army officers in middle or high positions should not give anyone the right to blacken or erode the moral cleanliness, professional experties, human resilience, of the several thousand-strong staff of officers, the forces. The existence of a strong police force that is pure in spirit and firm in self-confidence is equally important. Democracy must rest on order and respected regulations.

The premier spoke in conclusion about the fight against bureaucracy. He said that in the coming months, the so-called deregulation program will be implemented in administration, so that scope should be opened to self-determination based on citizens' freedom. The government wants to facilitate, with all means, the unfolding of self-government. It will consult on the regulatory principles in the near future with the political parties and citizens. In conclusion, he praised our unique experiment, that even in the nadir of crisis, we are resolutely building the system of institutions of political and economic democracy, because although crisis attracts a strong hand that wants to create some kind of order, we can count on advancing only by means of democracy.

[Announcer] [passage omitted] Earlier, the speech by deputy Gyorgy Banffy caused a slight shock; he proposed nothing less than that the present National Assembly should announce its own dissolution as of 11 December, and the provisional president of the Republic should announce new general elections for 11 March. The National Assembly will return to the proposal during this session.

Although our dollar revenues this year are growing by 8 percent, the balance of the current account shows a deficit of 1.5 billion dollars. This was stated by Erno

Kemenes, chairman of the National Planning Office during his contribution. Among the reasons he mentioned were the increasing interest burden and the deficit of tourism. The government wishes to continue the economic policy it began which is aimed at refreshing supply and liberalization. To this end, there will already be a tax cut next year. However, to regulate the buying power according to output, strict budgetary and monetary policy has to also be carried out in the future, said the chairman of the planning office.

Because of having kept quiet about the real figures, our debt is larger by 3 billion dollars than what was previously disclosed. With this sentence Ferenc Bartha, president of the Hungarian National Bank, has reinforced the statement of Miklos Nemeth.

The financial expert, during a 10 minute period, has outlined those financial-technical means, with the aid of which, at last, real data is being made available for Hungarian citizens and also for the world.

Following this, deputies contributed to the 3-year economic-political draft of the government. [passage omitted]

According to Dr Peter Biacs, the greatest problem of the economy at present is inflation. He considered it inconceivable that the post of economic minister of state is not filled in this situation, and that the government is not aided by a collage consisting of experts.

Arpad Kenyeres talked about the people who come to him for help in his constituency. Well, these are the small enterpreneurs who can only get a loan at a 37 percent interest rate, the leaders of industrial enterprises whose total profit is taken by taxes or young married couples who recently obtained flats whose rent will double next year if the new measures are introduced. This is not an economic-political strategy, stated the deputy.

Pal Fillo [Budapest Deputy] criticized the housing policy. It became clear after his speech how grotesque and untenable the idea of raising rents is when the Real Estate Management Enterprise has about 35,000 employees nationally. Their wages, overhead, and administration completely eat up the government's housing support fund of 7 billion forints. And these organizations do not even spend the amount from the rent on renovating apartments which have not been touched for 50-100 years. Pal Fillo said he can not accept the introduction of water charges nor the concept that the (cost of) renovations started by the tenants themselves should be charged to the tenants. This housing concept would not improve anything it would only deteriorate the situation drastrically.

This is how far the National Assembly got today in its debate of the 3 year economic-political program of the government. The debate is to be continued 22 November at 0800 GMT.

Democratic Forum Calls for Parliament Dissolution

LD2111184589 Budapest MTI in English 1810 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)—The Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) is calling for Parliament to be dissolved as of December 11, and for the parliamentary and presidential elections to be held simultaneously on March 11, 1990. (As reported, a similar proposal was presented in Parliament by a Budapest MP [Minister of Parliament] this morning.)

Speaking to journalists on Tuesday, MDF's presidential members were seeking to define the organization's place in the present political scene and confirmed their intention to boycott the weekend referendum.

On their relationship to the government, they pointed out that two weeks ago Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met MDF's presidential members and asked them to adopt a loyal oppositionist attitude for the transition period. MDF's leaders pointed out to the prime minister that the government's activity should in no way be influenced by party policy interests, but should be centered on preparations for the shift in system. The organization also asked to inspect the minutes of the talks with the International Monetary Fund because they feel the conditions the Hungarian Government accepted there will also determine the government's scope of motion after the elections.

It was announced that MDF agreed with the Recsk Federation and the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society to jointly enter the elections.

Holds News Conference

LD2211002389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Announcer] A press conference has been held by MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]. Eva Soos represented "News World" [this bulletin].

[Soos] Denes Csengey, member of the MDF Presidium, at first reported on the discussion which the MDF held with Premier Miklos Nemeth. To the request from the premier that the MDF should accept the role of loyal opposition, the MDF's reply is that it can do so only in the event that the current government states that it is the government, not of a party, but of the nation. MDF otherwise is asking for a look into and say in the talks which the government is holding with the International Monetary Fund. According to the MDF, the government will accept conditions which will determine, in advance, the existence of a future government, and inasmuch as these conditions do not tally with the economic program of the Democratic Forum, MDF, no matter what results it achieves in the elections, cannot participate in government. Denes Csengey stated that MDF will fight, with all legal means possible, against the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. [as heard]

Naturally, there was talk of the MDF appeal to boycott the referendum, as well as of the fact that MDF had been attacked several times for this reason. According to Istvan Csurka, the process of democratic transformation has got into a crisis, especially because a conflict has developed between the two most credible opposition [organizations]. Yet it is the moral obligation of the MDF, even at the cost of losses, to state the truth, concluded Istvan Csurka.

Further Reportage on Upcoming Referendum

SZDSZ Condemns MDF Boycott Call

AU2111140989 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 16 Nov 89 p 5

[MTI report: "SZDSZ: The Appeal of the Democratic Forum for Boycotting the Referendum Was A Very Unfriendly Step"]

[Text] Ivan Peto, spokesman of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] called the appeal of the presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] to boycott the referendum a very unfriendly step. Ivan Peto added that the SZDSZ was always aware that the positions of the MDF and the SZDSZ do not agree on this issue, but, despite the differences, the opinion of the MDF seemed to be correct. However, the recent MDF statement will not only deteriorate the inter-party relations more than necessary, it will also have further negative effects. Ivan Peto pointed out that, in his view, in the current situation, the use of boycott as a political means is inadmissible. It is extremely risky to make use of such means at a time when a democratic regime is emerging, when the population is cautious and does not participate.

MSZMP Position on Referendum

AU2111161789 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Nov 89 p 4

["Four No's—Position of the MSZMP Provisional Executive Body on the Referendum"]

[Text] Despite the fact that the right-wing political forces forced the referendum of 26 November by violating the principles of democracy, the Provisional Executive Body of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] is not calling upon anyone to boycott the referendum. Every MSZMP member will decide himself whether to participate or not.

The Body proposes that the MSZMP members and the Hungarian citizens who support our party should vote No to all the questions on the list.

First question: Should the presidential elections take place only after the National Assembly elections?

Our reply: No. The Hungarian right-wing parties are counting on the fact that the "dismantling" of socialist state institutions and the emergence of bourgeois institutions will provide a favorable atmosphere for them to gain a parliamentary majority in the general elections to be held next year, and then, the Parliament will be able to elect a person favorable for the right-wing forces. The MSZMP accepts competition also under the current unclear domestic policy conditions, and it wants to propose a public figure for the position of president of the Republic, who will enable the integration of left-wing forces in Hungary and the success of the constitutional struggle against the broad right-wing attacks.

Second question: Should the party organizations leave the workplaces?

Our reply: No. The power of the parties of the Hungarian workers movement has always laid primarily in the efficient organization and militant spirit of the party organizations in factories. We would give up the historical gathering point and an important base of the Hungarian workers movement and progressive forces if we answered "yes" to this question.

Third question: Should the MSZMP give an account of its property?

Our reply: No. The MSZMP must give an account of its property to its own members, as most of this property originates from membership fees or the voluntary work carried out in the second half of the forties. By bringing this issue up, the right-wing is implying that the MSZMP property was not acquired legally. By voting 'No' we will clearly and firmly reject this accusation.

Fourth question: Should the Workers Militia be dismantled?

Our reply: No. The Workers Militia emerged in the struggle to preserve the socialist order, and its sphere of activity changed along with the changes in the demands of society. Over the past decades, this body proved to be an organic, democratic, recognized, and appreciated part of our political institutions, a voluntary armed organization whose members are carrying out activity that is useful for the whole of society.

MDF Oroszlany Organization Disbands

LD2011030189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] The Oroszlany organisation of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] decided to disband itself after having been informed about the appeal of the MDF Presidium urging the boycott of the referendum.

In their statement sent to the national press service, they emphasize that they consider the MDF's boycott appeal as anti-democratic and unacceptable. After this, the Oroszlany organisation of the MDF can not carry out its work with conviction. Therefore it disbands itself.

People's Party Urges 'No' Vote

LD2111133189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] The Hungarian People's Party, which urges land reform, held a meeting over the weekend. The People's Party is adhering to the agreement reached at the trilateral talks, and therefore advises voters in Sunday's referendum to vote no to the first question, that is, to demand that there be presidential elections before the parliamentary elections.

Kispest Investigation Over Cards

LD2011225489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] The Kispest [area of Budapest] council chairman has called an investigation in connection with how sounding-out cards [kopogtato cedula], that is notices calling for participation in the Sunday referendum, ended up in the district's wastebins. Dezsoe Fenyvesi said that the parties in Kispest had been asked to send representatives for the conducting of the investigation. He also said that the deliverers were council workers, whose work was hampered by the inaccuracy of the name-list of the State Office of Population Records. They were unable to get nearly 20 out of every 100 notices to the people to whom they were addressed because of errors.

According to the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], considerable negligence was committed by the organs preparing the Sunday referendum when they sent did not send the sounding-out cards to the voters through the post. Janos Kis, executive official, is of the view that it is unacceptable that they renounced postal delivery, with reference to reasons of thrift. SZDSZ now urges that as soon as possible, posters containing the exact date and location of the referendum be put out on the streets, and also that the national and local dailies carry the list of locations of voting districts. According to the executive official, it is still necessary to clarify the social control of the referendum, since at some councils, citizens who have applied to be inspectors have simply been sent away.

2-Day Freedom Party Congress Opens in Budapest

LD1911030389 Budapest MTI in English 1731 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 18 (MTI)—The second congress of the legal successor of the Freedom Party, founded on March 15, 1946, and registered in October of 1946, opened on Saturday in the Jurta Theatre of Budapest. The event is scheduled to last two days.

More than 200 participants, including Hungarians living in New York, are attending the conference. According to plans, participants are to approve the party's manifesto, and discuss organizational and working order issues. They are to elect the leaders of the party, and will hold talks on preparations for the parliamentary elections.

Hoka Elected President

LD1911214289 Budapest MTI in English 1952 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 19 (MTI)—The 2nd congress of the Freedom Party ended on Sunday in the Jurta Theatre in Budapest. The party, founded in 1946 and banned later on, was earlier reorganised in the United States, and has operated in Hungary since this July.

During the two-day conference, the more than 100 participants created the party's manifesto, and approved the statutes. Erno Hoka, who lives in New York, was elected president of the Freedom Party, the acting president is Dr Gyula Gueth, a head physician from Kaposvar.

Mr Hoka told MTI that the Freedom Party wishes to unite the 16 million Hungarians living throughout the world, irrespective of race, sex, religion and occupation. The party will not nominate a candidate for president of the republic, as it had no possibility to prepare. However, the party intends to enter candidates in all individual constituencies for the election of National Assembly MPs.

People's Party Board Holds Extended Session

Suto Nominated Presidential Choice

LD1911022389 Budapest MTI in English 1855 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 18 (MTI)—At the extended session of the leading body of the Hungarian People's Party, held in Budakeszi, participants decided to nominate Andras Suto, the Hungarian writer living in Transylvania, as their candidate for the post of president of the Republic. They shall naturally consider the nomination valid only in case Mr Suto accepts it, and if the legal and political obstacles that prevent the nomination of the writer can be averted.

Alongside the 100 members of the party's board, the meeting was also attended by the presidents and secretaries of the party's recently founded basic organizations.

Further on Session

LD1911022889 Budapest MTI in English 2014 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 18 (MTI)—As reported, the board of the Hungarian People's Party held a session on Saturday in Budakeszi. Acting President Janos Marton stressed, among others, that economy, and within this, agriculture, has from the very beginning received a priority place in the party's manifesto. The party was the first to formulate the agriculture programme, the main theses of which are today included in the programmes of all parties.

Konrad Salamon forwarded the greetings of the Hungarian Democratic Forum to the session. He said only a coalition of wide dimensions can save the country from the serious situation, as a possible coalition of a restricted nature could be overthrown and turned out of office every week or month. The Hungarian Democratic forum, the Hungarian People's Party, the Christian Democratic People's Party and the Independent Smallholders' Party could form the backbone of a future coalition of wide dimensions, he said.

Csaba Varga, secretary of the Hungarian People's Party, called on the people to vote with a "no" to the question related to the election of the president of the Republic, in the course of the referendum to be held on November 26, in other words, to vote for the president to be elected by referendum. Discussing the parliamentary elections, he said: the Hungarian People's Party wishes to nominate candidates in all individual constituencies, and expects at least 30 to 40 of its representatives to win seats in Parliament.

Views State Property Redistribution

LD1911024889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] The Hungarian People's Party is meeting in Budapest. It considers the elimination of state-owned land to be a central issue. Ernoe Kardos reports.

[Begin Kardos recording] The Hungarian People's Party is still an opposition party, which would like to win over the trust of its rural electors by intending, as soon as possible, to hand back the land to its original owners. And it would also like to restore self-government. The board decided that land-distributing committees should be formed as soon as possible, even with multiparty participation. This organization will have to supervise and see that land is cultivated, or that the inheritance is received by the descendants in the form of property-coupons [vagyonjegy]. According to calculations, in this manner one-third of state land would end up in private hands. The remainder could be cultivated by leasing. Therefore, this means that the Hungarian People's Party protests against the current form of privatization, and it calls on the government not to sell the country, it was said at today's session.

Instead of state property, they would like to create a state of proprietors. They urge foreign capital to be drawn into the economy. However, they protest again the smallholders all at once breaking apart the current system of cooperatives by giving various promises. The People's Party professes that producers' cooperatives must be gradually abolished. In a situation to the contrary, a food shortage would develop.

The People's Party would like to have 30-40 deputies in Parliament, on the national or local lists, but they want to field independent candidates in the first round of elections. From among the coalition partners, only the center parties would be considered; that is, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Democratic Forum, and possibly the Socialist Party. But they reject the Stalinist HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and the opposition liberals. Since they were unable to put forward their own candidate from among their own ranks, they have decided to accept the legal difficulties, and to nominate Transylvanian writer Andras Suto as president of Republic.

Green Party Established, Founding Session Held

LD1811203689 Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 18 (MTI)—The Green Party of Hungary was set up on Saturday [18 November] in Budapest. 'We, the Greens, are neither on the left, or the right side, we are in the front', it was stressed at the founding session. The new party wishes to take a stand for free people and a healthy environment.

On the first day of the conference, sociologist Andras Szekfu, one of the leading figures in organizing the party, proposed that the Green Party support the referendum announced for November 26. In view of the traditions of the Danube movements, environmentalists cannot reject this form of expressing opinion. With respect to the election of the president of the republic, all voters should cast ballots according to their beliefs. In the other three issues, the Green Party proposes a 'yes' vote, in support that parties not operate in workplaces, that the workers' militia be dissolved, and the former HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] obliged to give account on its assets. Mr Szekfu asked support for the Green Party's opinion formulated in the course of organizing the party, that neither the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Water Management, nor its minister are acceptable—not even for the months remaining until the election.

Mr Szekfu also said the Green movement should take a stand not only in the interest of the Hungarian minority living beyond the country's borders, but also against the discrimination of the southern Slavs, Slovaks, Gypsies and other minorities living in Hungary.

The party's manifesto, statutes, and organizational and operational rules were discussed at the conference. Similarly to the environmental protection movements of other countries, the Green Party of Hungary considers non-violence and the protection of the minorities to be its major tasks. They wish to work against poverty, and physical and mental exploitation.

It became clear from the contributions at the conference that the Green Party of Hungary integrates quite a few diverse tendencies. For instance, nature and animal protection activists, and representatives of independent peace movements alike participate in the work. The Green Party wishes to enter the national MP and local elections.

On Saturday, representatives of several foreign environmental protection movements welcomed the Green Party of Hungary, which is the 21st European Green organization.

Congress Ends 19 Nov

LD1911213989 Budapest MTI in English 2010 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 19 (MTI)—The founding congress of the Green Party of Hungary ended on Sunday in Budapest, with the approval of the manifesto, statutes, and organizational order. According to the manifesto, the Green Party rejects a consumer society that is based on exploiting human beings and nature. The Green Party intends to be the party of those who wish to create the future society on the basis of ecological principles and non- violence, by ensuring the rights of the minorities.

Under the statutes, the party is to hold a congress each year.

Following the approval of the documents, the 15-member national board, and the 8-member executive body were elected.

The congress addressed a letter to the Council of Ministers, calling on the government to officially protest—in the spirit of Helsinki—over the police action taken at the Prague protest on November 17.

The Green Party considers it necessary to set up an independent environmental protection authority.

Seek Official Protest on CSSR

LD2011030989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Excerpts] In Budapest today, two parties are contining their consultations which started yesterday. Miklos Martin-Kovacs reports from the congress of the Hungarian Green Party. [passage omitted]

[Martin-Kovacs] The main emphasis here is on forming a new party. However, the Prague events can not be ignored by the Greens either. Thus the Hungarian Green Party calls on the Hungarian Government, in the spirit of Helsinki, to officially protest against the bloody suppression of the Prague demonstration on Friday.

At the founding session of the party it was emphasized in a decree that it seems that the Czechoslovak leadership has made up its mind to fight against its own people to the last.

The Green Party, also in a decree, urges the Hungarian Government to submit the bill on weapons of self-defense to the National Assembly as soon as possible. They call for measures to be taken to separate the Environmental and Water management Ministry according to the activity indicated in its name. The Green party, I quote, agrees with the resignation of Dr Laszlo Marothy, minister for environmental protection and water management. Moreover, it proposes to the government that it should relieve State Secretary Miklos Varga and Deputy Minister Ervin Zsuffa. The reasons for this, according to the Greens, are damages of billions, destroyed natural values, among them, Nagymaros. [passage omitted]

Nagykanizsa Reform Circle Appeals to Ex-MSZMP

LD2011033589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] The Nagykanizsa reform circle has appealed to the ex-Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] reform circles to renew their activity and to take part in the democratic transformation process.

At the third national meeting of the reform circles it was emphasized that a democratic Hungary can not be envisaged without an organized left wing. Therefore, at the Nagykanizsa meeting, a statement was adopted and the movement of the ex-MZSMP reform circles was declared a left-wing movement independent from parties and political organizations.

Officials on Dismantling of Workers Militia

AU2011122789 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Ferenc Markovits, government commissioner in charge of dismantling the Workers Militia and head of the Defense Office of the Council of Ministers, and with Major General Karoly Janza, deputy head of the Material Planning and Economic Department of the Hungarian People's Army, by Istvan Illes: "Weapons Will Not Disappear From the Depots of the Workers Militia—Dismantling of the Workers Militia Will Be Concluded by the End of the Year"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Is it true that, even prior to the decision to dismantle the Workers Militia, small arms disappeared from the depots of this organization? Rumors also has it that unknown persons (?) broke into the depots in some districts and counties. Well-informed people claim to know that these cases can be connected with the organization of the "extreme left-wing." What is the truth?—we asked Ferenc Markovits. In the course of collecting material for this interview we also talked to Karoly Janza, who is in charge of the economic aspects of dismantling the Workers Militia. We asked him about the ways they sell the equipment and technical installations—including the weapons and the organization's training facilities— and to whom.

[Markovits] I can assure everyone that not a single weapon has disappeared from the depots of the Workers Militia. There has been no attempt to break into the depots, and the militia members did not take any "weapons-protection" actions. Following the law on dismantling the organization, the members themselves saw to it that no weapons could get into unauthorized hands. The guards stayed at their posts until they were replaced by soldiers. The change in guard was accomplished betwen 11 o'clock on 23 October and dawn on 24 October. This was also the request of the 23 October Committee because, as their representative put it, only in this way could they guarantee an undisturbed event on 23 October. Thus, the former Workers Militia members do not have any weapons or ammunition today.

[Illes] What is the guarantee for this?

[Markovits] The inventory of military equipment in the capital has already been taken; in the provinces, this will take another few days. The Army people examine every weapon and identify it by serial number. The weapons are taken to the Army depots only after this identification process. [passage omitted]

[Illes] What will happen to the military equipment?

[Markovits] This equipment will be kept in the depots of the People's Army until the Defense and Interior Ministries decide what they intend to do with it. Naturally, the budget allocation will decrease in accordance with the value of these weapons and military installations. The equipment, real estate, and other installations which the Army does not need will be sold to the highest bidder.

[Illes] Will the country's defense capability decrease as a result of the dismantling of the Workers Militia?

[Markovits] In my view, it will not decrease because the Hungarian People's Army will gradually take over all the tasks carried out by the Workers Militia so far. [passage omitted]

[Janza] To start with, I must point out that we do not require any weapon, installation, or military equipment of the Workers Militia. Particularly not under the conditions outlined by Ferenc Markovits. The Hungarian People's Army has already spent many millions of forints on dismantling the Workers Militia, because hundreds of our people have been working day and night to finish the task by 15 November. In addition to salaries, we have considerable expenses in maintaining, repairing, and storing these weapons and other military equipment. To be honest, we were not prepared for this.

[Illes] Who will reimburse the Army for its surplus expenses?

[Janza] Since we do not require this obsolete equipment and weapons—because we have more modern equipment on stock which cannot be sold either—our expenses cannot be reimbursed by the sale of these installations. We must wait until the property and real estate of the Workers Militia is sold, and they pay us out of these sums. [passage omitted]

National Women's Magazine Editor Replaced

LD2011162489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Summary] On Saturday, NOK LAPJA appeared not as the weekly of the Hungarian Womens' Association, but as a pictorial, political weekly. Editor-in-chief Valeria Revai, and her deputy said in an article that the reason was that the requirements of readers have changed. Today, the editor-in-chief was dismissed, and replaced by Agota Eros. The dismissal notification was handed over by a representative of the Hungarian Womens' Association.

The news has come in during our broadcast that the members of the editorial of NOK LAPJA have decided to stand by their editor-in-chief, and from now on will publish their pictorial, political weekly under a different name. The Womens' Association will be able to launch a different paper under the name NOK LAPJA.

PAP on Soviet Ties Before Mazowiecki Visit

LD2211004189 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 21—Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki starts an official visit to the USSR on November 23 at the invitation from the Soviet Government.

The programme of the visit includes talks with Mikhail Gorbachev and Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov as well as trips to Leningrad, Smolensk, Zagorsk and Katyn.

After the years of one party's monopoly for inter-state contacts, this time the interlocutor of the Soviet leaders will not only be the head of a genuinely pluralistic government in Poland but also a Catholic politician guided by the social teaching of the church who stated in the Sejm that he wants to "shape ally relations with the Soviet Union in tune with the principles of equality and respect for sovereignty."

Polish reforms would have been impossible without Soviet perestroyka, and the things it has started create a favourable climate in which it is much easier to achieve understanding with each other.

The fact that exports from Poland constitute 10 percent of the Soviet foreign turnover and nearly one-third of Poland's turnover is carried out with the USSR can in no way be considered satisfying.

Firstly, it does not exhaust our mutual possibilities.

Secondly, it is a common knowledge now that the practices of neglecting economic criteria, defective systems of clearing, prices and currency rates with sufficient information lacking on both sides set up and cultivated for years within the CMEA constitute a curb on cooperation.

Moreover, they lead to the situation in which Poles think "we send all to the Soviet Union", and in the USSR opinions are formed that their shortages and market problems "result from the necessity to keep up such countries as Poland."

New stimuli, new approach and the necessity to base our cooperation on solid grounds of mutual economic profits is not only the question of economy but of politics as well because these factors will decide about public moods to the same degree as the final account with Stalinist crimes and wounds inflicted by the system on both nations.

Visit to Katyn on USSR Agenda

LD2111185189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki will go on an official visit to the USSR on 23 November at the invitation of the Soviet Government. The agenda for the visit envisages talks with Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov, and trips to Leningrad, Smolensk, Zagorsk, and Katyn.

Statement on Soviet Troops in Swidnica Reported

LD1711211189 Warsaw PAP in English 1537 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 17—GAZETA WYBORCZA today runs a statement by General Mierczyslaw Debicki, Polish Government plenipotentiary for Soviet troops stationed in Poland, in which he said among other things:

"It is true that the city fathers were taken aback by the expansion in 1985 of the numerical state of the Soviet garrison. In a bid to help the Swidnica Municipal Office to overcome difficulties related to this, the Polish Government representative sought central budget subsidies for Swidnica. The result was that the city was granted the following subsidies: 200 million zlotys in 1987 and 160 million zlotys in 1988.

"In 1985, the expanded Soviet garrison took necessary efforts in the area of investment. There were cases of new buildings in closed and separated zones being built against our regulations and without permission from our authorities—which ran counter to a Polish-Soviet agreement of 1957 under which the Soviet side pledged to observe Polish law.

"The Polish Government representative protested on many occasions to the Soviet Government representative during joint meetings and also in writing, singling out cases of unauthorized construction. These actions, however, unsupported by a firm attitude of local authorities, failed to bring a desired response.

"During the latest meeting on October 11 which was attended by myself and the Soviet Government representative ... The question was also raised of observance of law and order and of violations of law by Soviet troops stationed in Swidnica. As far as this matter is concerned, the Polish Government representative this year alone protested on a number of occasions to the command of the Northern Group of Soviet Troops. Regrettably, the meeting confirmed the accusation to the effect that our organs of law and order failed to enforce the observance of regulations (traffic rules for one).

"It was determined that particularly endangered areas of the city will be controlled by Polish-Soviet patrols composed of Policemen and Soviet soldiers.

"Sejm deputy of the Walbrzych Region Mr M. Kowal who was present at the meeting informed the participants that he will withdraw the interpellation he had filed with the Polish Sejm concerning the Soviet Army garrison in Swidnica. He also asked the city's president to keep him abreast of realization of agreements and commitments."

Prominent Poles Address Appeal to Lithuanians

AU2111153489 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 16 Nov 89 p 6

[Text of an open letter from Polish politicians and intellectuals to the Lithuanians: "To Our Friends the Lithuanians"; date not given]

[Text] Fifty years have passed since the outbreak of World War II, and it will soon be 45 years since the end of that war. During this period the long history of Polish-Lithuanian friendship and Polish-Lithuanian antagonism has undergone radical changes—changes that were often not desired by Poles and Lithuanians.

We think that the time has come to clearly state that no one in Poland has any territorial claims to make concerning land that belonged to the Polish state during the years between the wars. We think that the time has come for Poles to clearly recognize that Vilnius is and will remain your capital and the center of your cultural and national life, as well as a center that crystallizes your patriotic feelings and historical traditions.

We also think that Poles possess and must possess guaranteed spiritual, historical, cultural and material rights to be present and to participate in the Polish heritage in Vilnius and Lithuania. We have been brought up in the Christian tradition and that tradition provides a basis for peoples' self-determination and mutual friendship. So in the name of that tradition and in the name of the ideal of Europe as a greater common fatherland, we ask you to show understanding for the mistakes that we made in the past. Conscious of the burden of the past, let us stand together on the basis of the present, boldly cast aside bad memories, and use the favorable circumstances that exist to move closer to one another and to recognize what is certain and permanent. We equally address this appeal to the Poles living in Lithuania; an appeal for understanding, wisdom, and friendship; an appeal for common values that apply to all of Europe, that is, for freedom and democracy.

Piotr L. Andrzejewski, Pawel Czartoryski, Bronislaw Geremek, Father Aleksander Hauke-Ligowski OP, Tomasz Jastrun, Marek Karp, Jerzy Kloczowski, Michal Komar, Tadeusz Konwicki, Krzysztof Kozlowski, Marcin Krol, Tomasz Lubienski, Adam Michnik, Andrzej Milosz, Jerzy Marek Nowakowski, Ryszard Reif, Jaroslaw Marek Rymkiewicz, Elzbieta Sawicka, Andrzej Strumillo, Jerzy Turowicz, Andrzej Wajda, Henryk Wujec.

Senate Commission on War Veterans, 'Victims'

LD1811234689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] The Senate Commission for Initiatives and Legislative Work has approved suggestions presented by the Senate subcommission for regulating rights of former soldiers from units fighting for freedom, and victims of Hitler's and Stalin's terror. The subcommission, in which representatives of many war veteran milieus took part, discussed public draft bills which would resolve issues of financial compensation and compensation for psychological damage for slave work in mines, factories, and the taiga, or for possessions robbed or confiscated illegally.

It was stated that there is need to consider the illegal court verdicts pronounced by teams of judges belonging to secret courts and to special sections.

The demand that the granting of documents on eligibility to benefits for water veterans be entrusted to a special minister for war veterans originated as a result of reservations to practices by the ZBOWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy]. It was also decided to instruct experts to work out new draft legal acts and investigate legal possibilities of treating Stalin's crimes as genocide.

Skubiszewski Receives GDR Ambassador 21 Nov

LD2111211689 Warsaw PAP in English 1856 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 21—Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski received here today GDR's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Poland Juergen van Zwoll.

The GDR's ambassador provided the minister with extensive information on the recent events in his country, their background and envisaged further developments. He characterized the essence of changes now under way in the GDR and the policy of the new authorities, particularly Premier Hans Modrow's programme.

The ambassador put special stress on those fragments of the expose which concern the issue of the GDR's keeping to its ally obligations and willingness to give new quality to its relations with Poland.

Minister Skubiszewski assured Ambasasdor Van Zwoll of Poland's support for reforms initiated by the GDR's present authorities, aimed at democratisation of socio-political life and transformation of economy.

He expressed conviction that the process will be carried out in the conditions of dialogue and conciliation among the GDR's major political forces, with the sense of responsiblity for the country's internal stability and independent development. The GDR's entering such a road of reforms is of fundamental significance for Poland and the whole Europe.

Minister Skubiszewski referred to the question of the GDR's strengthening which takes a special place in Premier Hans Modrow's expose. He underlined the convergence of those intentions with the interests of security and with success of striving for overcoming Europe's division.

The Polish foreign minister expressed opinion that some likeness of a number of internal changes in the GDR to reforms in Poland opens up a chance for a new rapprochement between both states and nations, their entering a road of closer cooperation. Poland will strive to fully use these possibilities.

Skubiszewski: German Unity 'A European Question'

PM2011100289 Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 15 Nov 89 p14

[NORSK TELEGRAMBYRA report on interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski: "Polish-Norwegian Talks"]

[Text] The notion of German reunification has been greeted with mixed feelings in Poland, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said in an interview with NORSK TELEGRAMBYRA.

He made a clear distinction between German reunification on the one hand and the border question on the other.

Skubiszewski welcomed the incipient reform process in the GDR, but stressed that further developments could go in many different directions.

"There are various views taken in Poland of a possible German reunification, and you could probably talk of mixed feelings even among those who take the view that reunification would be right. They realize that such a move could have unfortunate consequences for Poland," Skubiszewski said.

"The Germans have the right of self-determination, but at the same time the question of German unity is a European question which the Germans cannot settle alone. It must be put into a broader context, under a sort of European umbrella," Skubiszewski said.

The Polish foreign minister—who is regarded as one of the independents in the Warsaw government because he was never active in Solidarity—held political talks yesterday with Foreign Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik.

Tolerance of German Minority's Demands Urged

PM2211091489 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 15 Nov 89 p 1

[Adam Klykow commentary under the rubric "In My Opinion": "Poles and Germans Are Like Brothers?"]

[Text] Last Sunday, during the field mass celebrated in a spirit of conciliation in Krzyzowa, near Swidnica, which was attended by the premier of the Polish People's Republic and the FRG Chancellor, all observers could see for themselves that there are people living in our country who regard themselves as members of a German minority group. Some of them travelled from as far as Gdansk and Elblag, as evidenced by the names "Danzig" and "Elbing" featuring on the banners and pamphlets they brought with them. The message carried on the banners and contained in the pamphlets was not restricted to extending friendly greetings to Helmut Kohl. There were demands for German schools and "our rights." It was only thanks to the skillful handling of the situation by the priests in charge that the service did not develop into a rally...

The existence of the German minority group has ceased to be a taboo subject. We no longer pretend it is not there. But as a rule we do not yet know how to accept as normal the fact that Polish citizens of German origin are beginning to speak out loud and clear about their needs without questioning the existing national borders. The painful memory of the wrongs suffered in the past is still a major barrier preventing the realization of the brotherly ideal of reconciliation.

I would suggest that we adopt a different viewpoint. We Poles are generally in favor of the demands of our compatriots resident in Lithuania or the Ukraine. We are outraged when we hear that they are discriminated against. We send them expressions of our solidarity. We do not remain indifferent to the dangers faced by the Rossa Cemetery in Vilnius or the Lyczakowski Cemetery in Lvov.

Yet at the same time we are offended when we see Germans taking an interest in their national memorial sites in Poland. When we find that they resent the deterioration of many German cemeteries and buildings of historical significance, such as the once splendid Von Moltke Palace in Krzyzowa...

If we as a nation aspire to closer ties with Europe rather than Asia, we ought to be more critical of ourselves and tolerant toward others. How much easier it will then be to achieve mutual understanding and derive mutual benefits!

FRG Bundestag Delegation Discusses Economy

LD2211001989 Warsaw PAP in English 2057 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 21—Today, on another day of its visit to Poland the delegation of the Bundestag economics committee, led by its Chairman Herman Jozef Unland, spent on talks in Warsaw. The West German parliamentarians were received by Vice-Premier, Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, and by Vice-Premier, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Economy Czeslaw Janicki.

Having concluded the talks, Mr Unland told PAP that the meeting with Vice-Premier Balcerowicz "had brought closer to us the problems now grappled with by Poland's economics and would, as it seems, make for speeding up the execution of the arrangements arrived at by Poland and the FRG during the recent visit by Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Poland."

"The committee I represent," he continued, "will be dealing in particular with the ratification of the treaty on protecting the investments, both Poland and German. In this connection I promised Vice-Premier Balcerowicz to do our best to speed up the work on this document."

Youth Exchange Numbers With FRG To Double

LD2111225189 Warsaw PAP in English
1728 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn, Nov 21—Bonn yesterday released the statement of minister of youth, family, women and health affairs Ursula Lehr commenting on the Polish-FRG agreement on youth exchange signed in Warsaw recently.

According to Minister Lehr this agreement opens new possibilities for meetings between young people of both countries, offers possibilities for understanding and rapprochement, and will now develop into a new quality as both governments have got involved with all their hearts.

The agreement will not require currency exchange, visa fees, or other travel fees. Last year, about 3 thousand young people from the FRG and 2 thousand from Poland took part in the exchange.

The agreement's target is to double these figures within 1-2 years. Bonn wants to earmark DM4 million in the 1990 budget for such an exchange with Poland.

Poll Shows FRG Approval of Odra-Nysa Border

LD2111222189 Warsaw PAP in English
1807 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn, Nov 21—The latest edition of the ZDF TV "political barometer" programme has confirmed that the majority of FRG society comes out in favour of the final character of the Polish western border.

In reply to the question: "Do you come out for the Odra-Nysa border as the final western border of Poland?" 66 percent of the polled said "Yes" while 19 percent said "No."

A TV commentator recalled that last August 50 percent of the sample approved of the final character of the border while 35 percent came out against it.

According to the commentator the recent disputes in this country over the Odra-Nysa border, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Poland as well as the ongoing changes in the GDR have contributed to the further evolution of political thinking on the part of FRG society.

Poland To Establish Relations With GCC States

LD2111222589 Warsaw PAP in English
1810 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 21—Poland intends to establish diplomatic relations with all countries grouped in the Cooperation Council for the Arab states of the Gulf, today's GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarnosc daily quoted an Abu Dhabi daily as saying.

At present Poland maintains diplomatic relations with Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates.

13th Sejm Meeting To Be Held 23-24 Nov

LD2011223389 Warsaw PAP in English
1744 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 20—The Sejm Presidium resolved to call the 13th Sejm meeting for November 23 and 24.

The agenda includes, among other things:

—Reports of the Justice Committee and of the Legislative Committee on Governmental Draft Laws and on changes in some of the provisions of the punishment execution code.

—A report of the Committee for Administration and Internal Affairs and of the Legislation Committee on deputies' draft law on repeal of the law on the voluntary reserve of the civic militia (ORMO) of June 13, 1967.

Sejm Deputy Meets Gdynia Anti-Nuclear Picketers

LD1911071689 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 2200 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] In Gdynia, the picket of the port's container terminal, which started on Thursday, is still on. It was mounted in order to prevent the unloading and transport of parts for the nuclear reactor of the Zarnowiec nuclear power station. This morning the parts began to be unloaded because the port Solidarity organization stopped the boycott. However, the decision to transport by land the reactor parts to Zarnowiec has not been made. Deputy Jacek Merkel of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group met with the picketers today.

Sejm Deputies Meet With Shipyard Officials

LD1911033189 Warsaw PAP in English
2156 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Gdansk, Nov 18—The Presidium of the Sejm Committee for Economic Policy, Budget and Finances and the Extraordinary Sejm Committee to Examine the Activity of Rakowski's Government met at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk today with the management of the enterprise and its social and political activists.

The meeting stated that at present, the shipyard is experiencing a dramatic situation due to the collapse of links with subcontractors, outflow of employees and restrictions imposed by banks. The enterprise was broken by the decision on its shut-down that had been made without notice and proper preparations, shipyard manager Czeslaw Tolwinski said.

Professor Jerzy Doerfer, creator of the Polish Shipyard Industry, who attended the meeting as expert, stressed that despite the existing difficulties the shipyard still had chances to develop. This is determined by a good position of the enterprise at world markets, and willingness on the part of foreign shipowners to place orders. There is a possibility that orders worth 1,500 million dollars can be placed with the yard. According to Professor Doerfer, it would be also possible to cope with the shortage of steel in Poland.

The debaters poined out that shipyard's problems could be solved by forming a joint venture company.

In my opinion, there is no chance to accept the decision on shipyard's shut-down, Deputy Bugaj said while summing up the meeting.

Mazowiecki Meets With Sejm, Senate Speakers

LD2211051289 Warsaw PAP in English 0115 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 21—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki met today with Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski.

New News Program Replaces Bulletin 18 Nov

LD1811233689 Warsaw PAP in English 2159 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—The "News" (Wiadomosci) replaced the much criticised main bulletin of TV news (Dziennik) at 19.30 for the first time today.

In tune with the announcement made by the news chief editor Jacek Snopkiewicz the programme includes mainly news reports, especially on Poland. The initial period will be devoted to improvement of the bulletin's shape. Its new form is to be polished during the coming months.

First Commercial Radio Station Airs Broadcast

LD2211001889 Warsaw PAP in English 2105 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Gdansk, Nov 21—The first Polish commercial radio station "radio market," owned by the Digi-Sound Company, aired its first broadcast today for residents of the Gdansk and the Elblag Provinces.

The radio is going to air a twenty-minute broadcast once a week, to present ads, news and music.

PZPR Statutory Outline Published 6 Nov

AU1411135989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Nov 89 p 4

["The Outline of the Statutory Model of the Party"—published by the PZPR Central Committee on 6 November 1989 in Warsaw]

[Text]

I. The Name of the Party

The name of the party will be proposed after the conclusion of the discussions on the ideology and program draft declaration and the statute for the party, which will be held throughout the basic party organizations (so far there have been about 70 suggestions for the party's new name).

II. The Aims of the Party

The party operates within the constitutional order of the Polish People's Republic.

Its aim is to create a Polish state ruled by parliamentary democracy, law, and selfgovernment. It recognizes the equality of rights and the freedoms of the citizen as its supreme aim. The party welcomes to its ranks all people who seek to create a democratic socialist society.

1. The party's supreme duty is to strengthen and defend the independence and sovereignty of the Polish state. Through its activity it seeks to serve society and the sovereign development of the country.

2. It strives to establish a system of social justice where labor is the determinant of the material well-being of the individual and the development of the country.

3. It will seek to create appropriate conditions for the development of man in his natural environment and the fulfillment of his civilizational aspirations.

4. It supports tolerance in relationships between people and the freedom of their particular point of view.

5. It remains open to cooperate on a partner-like basis with all social forces in Poland and abroad who cherish the ideals of humanism, democracy, and progress.

III. Party Membership

1. The party is a voluntary political grouping of the citizens of the Polish People's Republic who are willing to accept its ideological declaration and party statutes.

2. Any citizen can be a member who: (a) is 18 years old and enjoys full civic rights, and (b) who is 16 years old, without regard for his nationality, position, work, wealth, religious outlook, or current political affiliation and activity. [Sentence as received]

3. One can join the party by lodging an application to that effect in any one of the party's basic organizations.

4. The basic party organization cannot refuse to accept an application and, before the expiry of 2 weeks from the date of application, it is obliged to inform its members of the fact that an application has been lodged. If within a period of 2 months no reservations concerning the application are expressed by the party members, the applicant automatically becomes a member of the party.

The applicant has a right of appeal to higher party authorities in the event of a refusal.

5. A member of the party cannot be a member of another party.

6. All members of the party have equal rights. A member has the right to:

—a) actively participate in the elaboration of the program, the line, and the policies of the party, and in activities organized by the party;
—b) obtain information about the activities of the party and its organs, and make use of the party organization to realize his own political and organizational aims;
—c) freely proclaim his views, orally and in writing, freely criticize any member of the party and the activity of any party organ, and participate in party discussions, polls, and referendums;
—d) put forward his own political initiatives within the party organization, participate in their implementation, and join the initiatives of others;
—e) freely establish contacts with other party members and organizations;
—f) without hindrance advance his candidature for any position in the party organization;
—g) benefit from the party's assistance in the event of baseless accusations being made against him, or wrongs suffered as a result of carrying out party activities, as well as in other situations;
—h) draw on the material resources of the party and the opportunity of its assistance for further education in the execution of his duties and realization of his rights;
—i) to stand for parliament, or any self-governing body as the party's representative, and benefit from party assistance in any election campaign;
—j) support the party materially;
—k) leave the party.

7. A member of the party is under the duty to:

—a) honestly perform his civic and social obligations;
—b) protect the good name of the party according to his particular interests and capabilities, to participate in its activities, and gain new adherents for the party;
—c) show moral and material solidarity with other party members, and respect the views held by others;
—d) attend the meetings of his organization and pay his membership fees;
—e) broaden his social knowledge, support the party press and its other publications;
—f) participate in the activities of social organizations, and gain new sympathizers for the party;

8. Party members cannot engage in activities that conflict with the policies of the party.

9. All members confirm the voluntary nature of their adherence to the party by annually "renewing" their membership card and paying a special membership fee.

10. A member of the party who holds a position in the state administration, self-governing bodies, political institutions, trade unions, social organizations, and cooperatives, apart from being liable to any of these other authorities is also answerable to the party.

11. Party members who infringe party regulations answer to their organizations and are liable to action by party tribunals. The matter of special sanctions and penalties is left open for the time being.

12. It has been decided to establish a special statutory category of party sympathizer.

13. The party cooperates with the sympathizers who support its policies and who vote for the party in parliamentary and local elections. It encourages their participation in the life of the party, in the shaping of its policy programs, and in the selection of party candidates in election campaigns. According to the principles adopted by the party authorities, party sympathizers have the right to be present at the national congress of the party and at any conferences at any party level in the capacity of advisers.

14. An important task of members, party organizations and authorities, is the development of various social initiatives, the creation of discussion clubs, or autonomous local and regional associations.

15. It is proposed to introduce a category of collective membership for associations and social organizations.

IV. The Main Principles Guiding Party Activity

1. In its internal party life the party is guided by the principles of unity, democracy, openness, pluralism of views and positions, and solidarity in its actions.

2. The members of the party exert a direct influence on its policies and internal party life, through their right to put forward and defend their own views, through free discussions and criticism, and through the creation of their own program platforms.

3. Party members who present their own program platforms have the right to express their views throughout all party structures and in its press, and have the right to put forward their own candidates for party conferences and for party positions.

4. Program platforms cannot not be so structured as to create their own separate organizations inside the party.

5. Party members, the basic party and local organizations or committees (councils) at all levels, have the right to state their own individual opinions in their resolutions and in the party press, to organize meetings with other organizations, and establish such contacts in matters that they consider to be important.

6. Party higher authorities cannot set aside the resolutions adopted by party organizations and authorities of a lower level, if these resolutions do not conflict with the resolutions taken at the party congress, or the party statutes.

7. In its internal party life, the party is guided by a conscious organizational discipline. Members of the party have a duty to implement the resolutions adopted by the party.

V. Principles of Election

1. The election of all party authorities and delegates are to be conducted in a democratic way, in secret voting, from the larger number of proposed candidates.

2. All party members have active and passive voting rights.

3. Program platforms and streams of opinion within the party have the right to put forward their own candidates and delegates for party positions. Every party member has a right to give such delegates, or candidates his support.

4. A delegates mandate is valid throughout its intended tenure.

5. The validity of the elections—in the case of the highest party offices—is confirmed by the party congress, and for regional organizations it is confirmed by the appropriate party authorities.

VI. The Structure, and the Internal Framework of the Party

1. The party operates throughout the whole territory of Poland.

2. Party members can be Polish citizens living abroad and organizing themselves there in accordance with party statutes.

3. The party structure is based on the administrative divisions of the Polish state, as well as on organizational and professional circles.

4. The main form of party association is through regional party organizations set up in various areas having due regard to parliamentary and local self-government electoral districts. Additionally, there can exist groupings of party members who belong to various professional milieus or organizations, or according to their type of work, as well as party factory organizations.

5. A minimum number of five members is required to form a basic party organization, by electing a chairman, secretary, and a treasurer.

6. The district, regional, and city committees (boards) coordinate the activity of the basic party organizations within their catchment area.

7. In basic party organization that have a minimum of 100 members, there has to be an elected committee (board) consisting of 7-11 people.

8. In party organizations which have over 500 members—apart from the committee (the board)—other councils of the appropriate level may also be elected.

9a). The voivodship council stands at the head of the voivodship party organization, which elects its chairman and the presidium. A voiviodship party committee (board) is elected in order to carry on the current work of the party voivodship organization.

9b). The party voivodship committee (board) stands at the head of the party voivodship organization (including all its subordinate organizations).

10. Voivodship councils and voivodship commitees (boards) are elected at party voivodship congresses.

Party Congress

1. The highest authority of the party is the party congress summoned every 2 years (or every year) by the Supreme Council of the party. The party congress defines the party political line, votes on its program and statute documentation, and elects the highest authorities of the party.

2. The date of a party congress must be published not less than three months before.

3. The Supreme Council fixes the representational norm, the election timetable, and the draft agenda for the congress.

4. An extraordinary congress can be summoned by the Supreme Council on its own initiative, or on the motion of a minimum of one-third of party members, or the resolutions of party regional organizations which represent this number of members.

5. The congress elects: a Supreme Council (composed of 150 members), a National Executive Committee (Board) (composed of 30 members), a National Auditing Commission (15 members), and a National Party Tribunal (10 members).

6. The following can participate in the party congress:

—a) party delegates;
—b) members of the party's parliamentary club;
—c) members of the retiring party central authorities;
—d) party representatives of trade unions, youth organizations, discussion clubs, and social associations that are close to the ideological aims of he party;
—e) the representatives of the party press and its other publications;
—f) distinguished party scholars and leaders of cultural spheres;
—g) unaffiliated party sympathizers.

7. Party delegates and members of the party parliamentary club have the decisive voice, invited guests have an advisory capacity only.

The Supreme Council

1. The highest decision making power of the party in the period between party congresses resides in the Supreme Council.

2. The Supreme Council elects from its members its chairman, his deputies, and secretary, who, together, constitute its presidium.

3. The Supreme Council has the power to call standing and temporary commissions on various problems.

4. The Supreme Council oversees the work of the National Executive Committee (Board) and makes appropriate resolutions in this matter. It has the right to effect changes in the composition of the committee.

5. The Supreme Council has the right to order all-party referendums, and to conduct opinion polls.

6. The Supreme Council adopts the party's annual budget and evaluates the results of its implementation.

7. The Supreme Council coordinates the activities of the party voivodship councils.

The National Executive Committee (Board)

1. The National Executive Committee (Board) implements the resolutions of the Congress and Supreme Council. In between meetings of the Supreme Council, the Committee adopts stances on current party and national issues and coordinates the work of voivodship executive committees (boards).

2. The National Executive Committee (Board) is answerable to the Supreme Council and Congress for its activity.

3. The National Executive Committee (Board) elects from its members a chairman, deputy chairmen, general secretary, secretaries, and treasurer.

4. The National Executive Committee (Board) appoints an organizational office, determines the scope of this office's tasks, and manages its work.

The National Auditing Commission or National Financial Commission or Specialized Auditing Team of the Supreme Council

1. The National Auditing Commission (or National Financial Commission or Specialized Auditing Team) of the Supreme Council controls the financial and economic activity of the National Executive Committee (Board) and party economic institutions.

2. The National Auditing Commission (or National Financial Commission or Specialized Auditing Team) of the Supreme Council elects from its members a chairman and two deputy chairmen.

3. The above rules also apply to field auditing bodies.

The National Party Tribunal

1. The tasks of the National Party Tribunal include:

—a) examining the findings of the Supreme Council, National Executive Committee (Board), and National Auditing Commission, and investigating any activity by members of the national authorities that violates the party statute;
—b) considering appeals against decisions by field party cells.

2. The National Party Tribunal elects from its members a president, two deputy presidents, and a legal spokesman.

3. The National Party Tribunal is entitled to impose penalties, up to and including expulsion from the party.

4. The above rules also apply in a suitable manner to field party cells.

VII. The Party, Parliamentary Club, and Self-Management Bodies

1. The Supreme Council approves party candidates for seats in Parliament.

2. The party implements its policies via the work of its members in parliament, self-management bodies, trade unions, and social organizations.

3. Party members who have been elected to representative bodies and to the authorities of social organizations present the party's policies in these bodies. For this purpose, parliamentary clubs and party teams are created.

4. Members of parliament, of other representative bodies, and of the authorities of self-management bodies and social organizations are bound by the general principles of party loyalty, contacts, and discipline. The appropriate committees (boards), in concert with interested parties, decide which matters require a joint stance and unanimous voting.

5. The Parliamentary Club nominates its representatives to the Supreme Council and National Executive Committee (Board). The chairman of the Parliamentary Club is a member of the party leadership. Members of the Parliamentary Club may attend meetings of the Supreme Council, and members of the Parliamentary Club's Presidium may attend meetings of the National Executive Committee (Board). This principle is also applicable to field party cells in an appropriate manner.

VIII. The Press, Publishing, and Cooperation With The Mass Media

1. The party press and publications are the property of the entire party, and serve the entire party. Every current of opinion is equally entitled to express its views therein.

2. The Supreme Council appoints the editors in chief of central party publications and publishing institutions.

3. Every party current may set up its own publication.

4. The party avails itself of state radio and television in accordance with the established rules. It defends the pluralism of state mass media.

IX. Party Funds and Assets

1. The party's assets and financial resources are formed out of:

—a) membership dues,
—b) legacies and bequests,
—c) the incomes of party economic institutions, party publications, and the party press,
—d) organized events, and other temporary sources of income.

2. The amount of the membership dues and the rules concerning their distribution will be governed by

regulations to be adopted by the National Executive Committee (Board).

3. All decisions concerning the disposal of party assets will be made by the Presidium of the Supreme Council, at the behest of the National Executive Committee (Board).

4. Field party cells are entitled to pursue economic activity.

X. Concluding Remarks

1. The Team [Central Committee team that has worked out this draft] considers the above draft outline of the party's statute to be the first attempt at dealing with the problem at hand.

2. In working out this draft, the Team availed itself of, among other things,the statutory principles of the Polish United Workers Party, Polish Socialist Party, and Polish Workers Party, as well as suggestions from voivodship congress commissions, and acquainted itself with the statutes of foreign parties.

3. An alternative version of Chapter VI, "The Structure and the Internal Framework of the Party," is in preparation.

The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, Warsaw, 6 November 1989.

Orzechowski To Replace Cadres 'At All Levels'

LD2111022189 Warsaw PAP in English
0036 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Gdansk, Nov 20—Marian Orzechowski, a member of the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau and chairman of the PUWP Parliamentary Floor Group said during a meeting with party councillors, and voivodship committee lecturers held in Gdansk today, that replacing cadres at all levels of the party was a fundamental condition of the new party's credibility and its regaining social confidence.

"Poland, the working people and socialism vitally need a strong socialist party," Orzechowski said.

National Party Holds Congress, Elects Officials

LD1911031989 Warsaw PAP in English
2111 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—The congress of delegates of the National Party, with over 120 delegates from all over Poland taking part, was held here today. It was preceded by a holy mass in St. Alexander's Church.

The debaters recalled that the National Party, with an almost 100-year history, resumed its open work after 50 years of absence in Poland's public life, using attainments of the thought of Jan Ludwik Poplawski, Roman Dmowski and other outstanding patriots as its basis.

Bronislaw Ekert became chairman of the 45-person Supreme Council, Adam Krajewski was elected chairman of the main committee and Stefan Jarzebski became president of the Main Board.

Programmatic documents say that, using the attainments of its predecessors, the National Party takes into account real and objective conditions in Poland, Europe and the world at the end of the 20th century in its actions and will guard vital needs of the Polish people and its state. The National Party is a political movement above class divisions striving to enable the Polish people to take its own questions and these of the state into its own hands. The all-round development of the forces of the Polish people, the defence and consolidation of independence and sovereignty, the ensuring of external security and domestic order, political and economic independence are the supreme goals of the National Party in tune with its 1935 statute adopted at its present congress with slight amendments).

In his statement for PAP reporter, chairman of the main committee Adam Krajewski referred to these programmatic values:

"I cannot put up with a thought that, being deprived of the fundamental conditions of decent existence in their own country, young Poles choose to emigrate and even to both German states. One should prevent this and not only in the economic area but exactly in cultural and ethical spheres, shaping patriotic spirit of Polish youth that is to become master of Poland.

Solidarity Opposition Group Holds Meeting

LD1911032589 Warsaw PAP in English
2148 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Bydgoszcz, Nov 18—"All need the consolidated trade union," said Chairman of the Solidarnosc provisional Board in Bydgoszcz region Jan Rulewski opening here today the Sixth All-Poland Meeting of "The Alliance for Democratic Elections in the Solidarnosc."

Participants in the meeting differed in their opinions on the question of the union's identity. The proposal voiced by Jan Rulewski of Bydgoszcz and Andrzej Slowik of Lodz to leave the question of the union's relegalization to be settled by the Second Solidarnosc National Congress and to devote the meeting to programmatic issues was not accepted.

"Participants in the alliance consider it purposeful to convey to the voivodship court in Warsaw a motion to rule that the court registration of Solidarnosc on November 10, 1980 remains valid. Participants in the alliance appeal toall Solidarnosc members to support the motion," reads one of the resolutions adopted by the meeting.

Another of the documents states: "Participants in the Alliance for Democratic elections in the Solidarnosc support the initiative to hold the Second Solidarnosc Congress as a unification congress. Delegates of all movements and organizations who feel linked to the Solidarnosc should take part in it. We state that the union eliminating its 1980 founders and those to whom it owes its survival from participation in the electoral process will not have the moral right to use the Solidarnosc name."

Ceausescu's Speech to RCP 14th Congress

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[Text of report presented by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party held in Bucharest on 20 November —live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: The 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] is an epoch-making event in Romania's millennia-old history, particularly in its modern history, in our party's revolutionary workers' activity, in the entire socioeconomic development, in our fatherland's advance toward new peaks of progress and civilization, in the successful construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society, and in our steady march forward toward mankind's golden dream, communism. [cheers, chants]

This congress is taking place at a particular time in the international life, when the socialist countries and all nations are faced with new questions and problems on choosing their road of socioeconomic progress, eliminating inequalities and oppression, and removing the danger of a nuclear war, which would lead to the destruction of life itself on earth, as well as on ways and means for mankind's revolutionary change and for the establishment of new social relations and new relations among nations and states, in order to ensure and create a better and more just world on our planet. [cheers, chants]

Therefore, setting out from the distance covered by the Romanian people along the road of socialism, the current Congress of our Communist Party should draw a general balance sheet of the current stage of the Romanian socialist society and work out our development programs for the next 5-year plan and up to the years 2000-2010, further develop the forces of production, science, education, and culture, to raise the people's material and intellectual living standard, to unswervingly implement the principles of scientific socialism and communism in all spheres of activity, to raise Romania to new peaks of progress and civilization, and to strengthen the fatherland's independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

As is well known, on the basis of the 1988 April Theses, the documents of the November 1988 high democratic forum, and the theses and the directive program for the 14th Party Congress, the whole party, together with all the people and all bodies of our revolutionary democracy, conducted a broad democratic discussion, which lasted for one and a half years—an event without precedent in the entire period of socialist construction, and one can say, in the entire modern history of our fatherland. This broad democratic discussion examined—in a critical and self-critical spirit, on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism and the revolutionary outlook about world and life, namely the dialectical and historical materialism—the entire activity carried out by our people in the years of socialist construction. The general conclusion of this long democratic discussion within our party and the whole nation was that Romania has covered, in a short historical period, several historical stages of development: from the bourgeois landlord system, with strong feudal remnants, to the stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society, thus forever eliminating exploitation, oppression, and the exploiting classes, and building the most just system known to mankind so far, the socialist society, in which the people are full masters of the means of production and are freely shaping their own free and independent destiny of well-being and happiness, namely socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

The lengthy and long democratic discussion on the current issues of socialist construction and on the documents for the 14th RCP Congress has tellingly demonstrated the unshakable unity between the party and people, and the determination by all our nation to continue to work in close unity and under the leadership of our glorious party to unflinchingly implement the program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and to create the necessary conditions for the resolute advance toward communism and for guaranteeing the Romanian people a dignified place among the ranks of free and independent nations in the world. [cheers, chants]

The county party conferences alone were attended by more than 23,000 delegations and 6,000 guests. More than 1,000 delegates participated in the discussions and 1,480 proposals were made. Generally speaking, the general meetings of the basic party organizations, which were attended by virtually all party members, and the party conferences in enterprises, institutions, communes, and cities were addressed by more than 615,000 party members and 462,000 proposals were made in connection with the congress documents and with a view to perfecting all socioeconomic and political-educational activities.

This is why, from the very beginning of our congress proceedings, we may say that the documents that are being discussed and are to be endorsed represent the unanimous will of the Communists and of our whole nation who view the proceedings of the 14th RCP Congress with confidence, in the firm belief that the decisions and guidelines that will be adopted will give new and revolutionary prospects to all socioeconomic activities aimed at raising our homeland to new heights of civilization and progress, at improving our material and cultural well-being, and at constantly strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, the successful construction of the new socialist system in our homeland is a law-governed continuation of the historic process of the formation of the Romanian people, of our nation, of the Romanian united nation state, and of the struggle against foreign domination, oppression, for freedom and independence, and for socioeconomic progress.

Scientific and archaeological data demonstrate, on the basis of undeniable facts, that our ancestors were born and developed thousands upon thousands of years ago in this land by going through various socioeconomic development forms. The foundation of the first centralized state of the Dacians more than 2,060 years ago marked a decisive event for the development of civilization on these lands and for the later development of the Romanian people.

The struggle waged by the Thracians and Dacians, and by the centralized Dacian state to protect and preserve the people's independence are very well known. The coexistence with the states and civilizations of that time, with the great Roman Empire undoubtedly exerted a powerful influence on the Dacians, but did not disrupt their existence and development process.

The longstanding coexistence between the Dacians and Romans marked an event of particular importance in forging the nature and in the development of the Romanian people who preserved the most wonderful virtues and features of the Dacians by acquiring everything that was best as a result of living side by side with the Romans.

This is how the Romanian people took shape, as history proves, by inheriting for thousands of millennia the highest virtues of the predecessors of these lands; they always defended them and did all they could to safeguard their free and independent life. [applause]

As is known, for hundreds of years numerous peoples migrated and thus they also arrived in the Dacian lands, the lands of our ancestors. True, many remained in this land and acquired the culture and the mode of life of the inhabitants here. None of this by any means disrupted the law-governed and historic process of the formation of the Romanian people.

One could say that these very difficult circumstances made our predecessors work in various ways and in complete solidarity to safeguard their customs and their free life; and despite the fact that all these migrations followed by foreign empires slowed down the process of the formation of the Romanian people and nation for some time, they were unable to halt the objective laws of the development of human society and thus of the Romanian people as well. [applause]

Our people, our ancestors, organized within voivodeships and then within provinces, fought with arms in hand and sacrificed their lives to ensure the existence of our people and the development of Romanian society on the ancient land of the Dacians.

I do not want to dwell on the various heroic events of our people's struggle. They are very well known and they have to be cherished forever in the minds and hearts of our people. What we have to emphasize is the fact that the formation of the Romanian people, of the Romanian nation, and of the Romanian nation state over a long period of time is the result of the hard and heroic struggle waged by the Romanian people and by the most progressive forces among their ranks. However, we must always emphasize that the real forgers of history, of life, of the nation, and of independence are the people themselves. They were the ones who refused to capitulate under any circumstances, they were the ones who carried high the banner of struggle, sometimes at a high cost, and it was they that did all they could to ensure the future of their successors, the future of our people. [cheers, chants]

Only by properly understanding all this will we be able to draw appropriate conclusions for the work of building socialism, for the future development of our homeland on the road to socialism, and for strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, bearing in mind the complex problems of the world, the discussions that are taking place in the world in connection with the development road of human society, it is necessary to recall very briefly that for thousands of years—from its birth and up to our present time— humanity has gone through several social systems, which were in keeping with the level of the forces of production, of the level of knowledge of human society, but which developed in close connection with the objective laws that govern the whole socioeconomic development of humanity. The Romanian people actually developed within this framework as well.

History attests to the existence of the primitive commune, of slavery, of feudalism, and then of capitalism, and currently of socialism in the development of the human society. It is well known that all these systems existed for long periods of time, differing from one continent to the other or even from one zone to the other. However, along with the development of the forces of production, the outdated systems had to disappear and make room for new systems whose aim was always to ensure the socioeconomic progress of the peoples.

However, from slavery up to capitalism the systems that followed each other—in various forms—preserved social inequalities, social and national oppression, and exploitation of man by man. Along with the emergence of the workers class on the stage of history as a result of the development of the capitalist society and then of the superior form of imperialism, history placed in front of the workers class the historic mission of putting a halt to the system divided into antagonistic classes—into oppressed and oppressors—and of achieving a new system, without exploiting classes, without oppressors, in which the peoples will become truly equal and free, in which any kind of oppression and inequality will be eliminated, and a new coexistence will be ensured on the basis of equality, social justice, and full freedom of people and nations. [applause]

We must constantly bear in mind that the elimination of the capitalist system and the achievement of the socialist social system is a law-governed requirement of the development of human society; sooner or later this will take place as, in fact, happened with all social systems so far.

It is well known that no social class, neither slave owners nor feudalists gave up its place on its own free will, but had to be driven away from power to ensure the progress of human society. Therefore, we must place full trust in the ability of the workers class and the people to implement the law-governed requirements of historic socioeconomic development and to build a system of justice and equality, and of freedom for people and nations. [cheers, chants]

The fulfillment of this historic mission devolved on the workers class and their revolutionary workers parties, whose strategic goal was to organize the workers class and the nations on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism and dialectical and historical materialism, in order to fulfill the mission of building the new socialist society system. One must say that history has shown the strength and ability of the workers class—in unity with all working classes and forces, the peasantry, and intelligentsia and under the leadership of the revolutionary parties—to overthrow the old social system and build the socialist society. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, 72 years have elapsed since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the creation of the first state of workers and peasants, and the passage to socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Some 45 years ago, after the end of World War II, other nations, including the Romanian people, overthrew the exploiting classes and proceeded to the construction of the socialist society. Then, the great Chinese people, the Korean people, and other nations embarked upon the road of socialism, and everybody knows that more nations from the developing countries are firmly advocating a gradual transition to the socialist road of development.

Today, the socialist countries are a strong socioeconomic force. These great achievements in their socioeconomic development are reflected in the fact that today they represent more than 35 percent of the entire industrial production of mankind. All this clearly proves the great strength of socialism and the creative ability of the nations to shape a new and free life for themselves, without oppressors, a life in which the peoples are truly free and independent and are ensuring a dignified life of well-being and happiness for themselves. We can and should strongly state that socialism has proved its creative strength and ability and that it represents the future of all mankind; consequently, we should do all we can to ensure a world without oppressors and exploiters, in which the peoples are living in full freedom, independence, well-being, and happiness. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation 45 years ago liquidated foreign domination for good and paved the road for great revolutionary changes, the construction of socialism, the growth of the whole nation's material and intellectual living standard, and the enhancement of Romania's independence and sovereignty. In order to better understand the road since covered by the Romanian people and the current development stage of the Romanian socialist society, one should briefly recall Romania's situation in the past and 45 years ago.

As you well know, the Romanian people have experienced the domination of foreign empires for centuries and waged hard battles to defend, preserve, and win their true national independence and establish the united Romanian national state. For long periods, a part of our fatherland's territory was under the domination of foreign empires. We had to pay scores of billions of lei in tribute and later, after the founding of the Romanian national state in 1859, some of Romania's most important assets were in the hands of foreign capital and monopolies for almost a century. Thus, in the period between the two world wars alone, foreign capital accumulated almost 100 billion dollars at the expense of Romania's riches and our people's work, which were transferred to the developed capitalist countries. All this led to the fact that Romania remained a poor and less-developed country. In 1944-45, Romania was a poorly developed and impoverished country, also devastated by the war. In these circumstances, our Communist Party, the workers class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and all our people had the mission of ensuring the development of the forces of production and raising the whole country's level of civilization.

In a short historical period of only 45 years, Romania has liquidated the state of backwardness to which foreign domination condemned it and, from a poorly developed agrarian-industrial country, our fatherland has become an industrial-agrarian country with a modern industry organized on the latest achievements of science and technology and with a flourishing socialist agriculture. In this period, Romania has covered several historical development stages: from the bourgeois-landlord system with strong feudal remnants in the socioeconomic and political life, to the stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. In 1948, after the overthrow of the monarchy and the nationalization of the main means of production, we eliminated the bourgeois-landlord property and man's exploitation by man once and for all and we laid the foundation for the development of the socialist industry and other spheres of activity.

It took us a long time, until 1962, to complete the cooperativization of agriculture, which marked the passage of the entire Romanian peasantry and agriculture to the socialist road. At the same time, we generally concluded the process of organizing the entire national economy on socialist bases. However, this process only laid the foundation of our fatherland's development along socialist lines. Even after the conclusion of the process of organizing the economy on socialist bases, Romania continued to remain a poorly developed country. Everybody knows that many erroneous concepts were strongly manifest at that time, particularly the underestimation of the strength and ability of the workers class and the Romanian people; a number of serious mistakes were made and there were violations of socialist legality. There is no doubt that all this has strongly hurt socialist development in our fatherland. However, the party had the necessary strength to eliminate these negative states of affairs and ensured the transition to the construction of the new social system in accordance with realities prevailing in our country, thus ensuring the great changes that have taken place in our country and its progress to the current stage of socioeconomic development. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, the Ninth RCP Congress took place in those circumstances. On the basis of a critical and self-critical analysis of the then 20-year-long activity of socialist construction, the Ninth Congress put an end to negative states of affairs, abuses, and illegalities and re-established the trust in the abilities of the party, the workers class, and the whole nation, thus restoring to the nation the trust in its own forces, the sentiment of dignity, and the determination to unflinchingly implement the new social system, on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism and of dialectical and historical materialism, a system in which the people are the basic factor for building socialism with the people and for the people. [cheers, chants]

It is the historical merit of the Ninth Congress to have put an end to concepts and practices alien to socialism and to copying and kowtowing to everything foreign, to have resolutely renounced the so-called compulsory single model of socialist construction, and to have proclaimed the principle of building socialism on the basis of objective laws and the principles of scientific socialism, in accordance with the will and realities of our country, by proceeding from the fact that the new system is being built in ways that differ from one country to another and one stage to another. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, that congress put a resolute end to dogmatism, conservatism, and narrow-mindedness of thinking and action, and set forth the target of improving the management of the activity of socialist construction and clearly organizing the entire work on the basis of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing, thus ensuring the firm application of scientific-technological achievements in all fields of activity, as a law-governed requirement of the successful construction of socialism. Even then, the Ninth RCP Congress strongly emphasized the need to broadly develop the revolutionary workers democracy and find new democratic ways for the participation of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, all social categories, and all the people in running all spheres of activity. One can justifiably assert, without fear of being wrong, that the Ninth Party Congress was a momentous event in the activity of our party and people and in the development and improvement of socialist construction, in accordance with realities prevailing in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Without the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress and without its new revolutionary guidelines, which means the firm application of socialist principles in all spheres of activity, we would not have obtained our great achievements of today and we would not have successfully built socialism and proceeded to the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society. [cheers, chants]

In order to properly understand this truth and today's realities, I will refer to the overall indicators of Romania's socioeconomic development in the 1945-90 period. However, I would rather not read them aloud, because they will be published in the press. The figures included in these tables give a clear picture of Romania's situation in 1945—in some spheres, from the time we started collecting the necessary figures, that is from 1950—and how our country has developed in this period. If we were to refer to the situation in 1965, one could note that we have achieved some important results, which however did not measure up to the requirements of our socioeconomic progress and of raising the fatherland's overall development level. This situation was also due to the fact that, for a certain period of time, the development fund was rather low, reaching even 17 percent at a given time, something which could not ensure the necessary means for the fatherland's overall development. One can easily note that, if we had continued at the same pace, we would have doubled our growth, or, at best achieved a 1.5-times growth compared with 1965, which would have meant that Romania would be a poorly developed country today. These figures clearly emphasize the correctness of the Ninth RCP Congress decisions and guidelines regarding the allocation of at least 30-33 percent of the national income to the development and accumulation fund, which represented the decisive element of Romania's progress after the Ninth Congress. One should point out that, in a period of 20 years, from 1945 to 1965, we allocated some 400 billion lei to the development fund. In the 1966-1990 period, by taking into consideration the investment provisions for the next year, too, we have allocated more than 5,000 billion lei.

Out of the overall national development fund, investments amounted in the 1945-65 period to some 340 billion lei; by 1990 they will amount to more than 4.3 billion lei. Out of total investments, some 2.3 billion were allocated to build our powerful modern socialist industry. As a result of this powerful development, one can say that there is no more important area in which Romanian industry will not manufacture highly technical and complex products, which can compete with the best such products at the world level.

On this basis alone we have ensured that by the end of the current 5-year plan our homeland's industry will be 145 times larger than in 1945, 128 times greater in the wake of the Ninth Party Congress. [applause]

We can very firmly state that only due to the vigorous development of the forces of production, of industry, agriculture, and of the other branches of activity have we eliminated our country's shortcomings of 45 years ago, we have ensured the improvement in the economic development level in general and in the level of material and cultural standard of all our people, and we have ensured a strengthening of Romania's force, independence, and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

Facts, life—the genuine judge—have refuted the past concept, which, however, had certain supporters during the years of socialist construction as well, the concept according to which Romania had to stay an eminently agrarian country; they also refuted the backward and reactionary concept that affirmed that the Romanian people would not be able to build a developed modern industry.

At this point, we can say with justified pride that life and facts have demonstrated the force of the workers class, of our people, who have become masters of their destiny, to build a superior industry, to ensure their socioeconomic development, and to build the most just society in the world.

At the same time, as is well known, the Ninth Congress fought against the concept of underrating agriculture and re-established the role and importance of agriculture as one of the basic branches of the national economy by starting from the fact that both the development of industry and of agriculture are law-governed requirements of the socioeconomic development of any society and all the more so of socialism. One cannot successfully build socialism without ensuring the vigorous development of industry and agriculture or without achieving a highly productive and efficient socialist agriculture. [applause]

Starting from this scientific concept, out of the socioeconomic development fund we have allocated very important funds for agriculture. In the first 20 years—1945-65—some 56 billion lei and in the 1965-90 period more than 650 billion lei were allocated for agriculture. On this basis we implemented our program for irrigations, for land improvement, and for a powerful fleet of tractors and agricultural machines, with everything this required, to ensure the technical and material base for successfully fulfilling the targets of the new agrarian revolution.

With this powerful technical-material base, our state and cooperative agriculture was able to achieve more than a 10-fold increase in output compared to 1945. There was more than a 6-fold increase in the wake of the Ninth Congress. This year, by fulfilling the targets of the new agrarian revolution, we were able to achieve the largest grain yields ever known in Romanian history, namely, more than 60 million tonnes. Thus, our country ranks among the front-ranking countries in the world as far as grain outputs per hectare and per capita are concerned. [applause]

At the same time, important investments have been allocated for transportation, telecommunications, forestry, construction, goods turnover, and for other purposes which throughout this period totaled 885 billion lei, of which more than 828 billion came after 1965. Special attention was given to housing construction, to expanding and modernizing the material base of education, culture, medicare, and other social activities by allocating in the 1945-90 period some 772 billion lei, of which more than 706 billion lei came after the Ninth Party Congress.

As a result of the general development of the forces of production and of the allocation of an important percentage—more than 30 percent—of the national income for the development and accumulation fund after the Ninth Party Congress, the national wealth will total some 5,660 billion lei in 1990 compared with only 250 billion lei in 1945 and 810 billion lei in 1965. Within this framework, fixed assets register a 22-fold increase throughout this period, with an increase of 19-fold after 1965.

The vigorous development of the forces of production, of industry, agriculture, and the other branches of activity on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology could be achieved due to the existing ownership of our whole people and cooperative ownership of the means of production. It is enough to compare what the fixed assets fund was in 1945 as a result of the previous overall development and what it represents today after only a 40-year period of socialist construction, of which the major part was achieved in the period since the Ninth Party Congress when firm action was taken to ensure the necessary conditions for the vigorous development of the material-technical base and of our socialist society.

We can emphatically say, on the basis of facts, that only socialist ownership of all people and cooperative ownership has guaranteed Romania's elevation to the current socioeconomic development stage and our people's material and cultural well-being. [applause]

This has also ensured the most complete concordance between the forces of production and social relations—decisive factors in the successful construction of the new social system. Along with the development of the forces of production in general, special attention was paid to the rational distribution of industry and the other branches throughout our country's counties and zones. In the 1945-90 period some 11,000 important production capacities were built, of which 9,650 have been since the Ninth Party Congress.

In their distribution, we had in mind that, along with developing all zones, greater attention was to be given to and a faster development rate ensured for lagging areas. This led to an improvement in the economic and social standard of all our counties.

As a result of the development of industry and of the other areas and branches throughout the country, the grouping of counties in accordance with the volume of their economic activity was modified. Anyone who visits Romania can easily convince himself how profound the changes in the development of all counties and of our whole country have been. The judicious distribution of the forces of production throughout our country constitutes today's lasting foundation for ensuring socialist construction in our country, complete equality of rights for all citizens, without any discrimination, and it is the foundation for raising the level of civilization of all counties and localities in our homeland—an objective requirement for successfully building socialism. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, the vigorous development of the forces of production, the increase in industrial, agricultural outputs and in the other sectors has brought about profound changes in our social structure. Today the workers class, peasantry, and the intellectuals represent the basic forces of the Romanian socialist society which, in complete unity, are implementing our socioeconomic development programs and ensuring our homeland's firm progress toward new heights of progress and civilization.

It is necessary to emphasize that in this period labor productivity increased vigorously, thus ensuring a vigorous increase in efficiency and profitability in all areas. The very fact that, while the working personnel increased more than 6-fold, industrial output increased more than 145-fold, clearly shows the great increase in labor productivity as a result of the modern and scientific organization of the production process, of mechanization, automation, and as a result of improving the working people's qualification in all areas.

Important successes were achieved throughout this period in the vigorous development of all grades of education. The illiteracy which we inherited from the bourgeois-landlord regime was eliminated a long time ago, the compulsory 10-year education was vigorously developed, and beginning with this year the 12-year educational system will generally apply for all our young people. At the same time, higher education developed vigorously, thus ensuring specialized cadres for all modern branches.

The close link between education, production, and research and the constant concern with raising the standard of education on the basis of the latest achievements of modern science and technology, and of human knowledge in general, played a decisive role in our homeland's overall development and in the successful construction of socialism.

At the same time, we have to emphasize the great achievements attained especially in the wake of the Ninth Party Congress in the vigorous development of science and scientific research in all areas. We have to emphasize that the great achievements in the development of our homeland in general, in industry, agriculture, and in the other branches are closely linked with the intensive research activity, the bold promotion of the latest achievements of science and technology in all fields, and the general improvement in the cultural and educational standard of all working people and of all our people. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, paying special attention to securing the development and accumulation fund, as one of the decisive conditions for our vigorous progress and for raising the level of civilization and general well-being of our people, our party and government have ensured, throughout the period following the Ninth Congress, the allocation of some 67-70 percent of the national income for the consumption fund. This has ensured a more than 33-fold increase in the remuneration fund compared with 1950. On this basis we have ensured an almost 10-fold increase in the average pay. Very determined action was taken to firmly apply the socialist principles of remuneration, and an equitable ratio—for the current stage—was ensured between low and high remuneration by reducing the ratio of almost (?23 in 1950) between high and low remuneration to 1-4.7 at present.

The peasantry's incomes have also grown; in the cooperative sector alone, these incomes amount to some 62 billion lei. We firmly introduced the principles of the overall contract system and of participation in profits, proceeding from ensuring the incomes of all categories of working people in accordance with the work and activity performed, on the basis of the socialist principle of no bread without work and no work without bread. One can say that the remuneration principles in industry, other sectors, and agriculture are in full accordance with the current period of socialist construction in our country and with the principles of socialist ethics and equity and ensure ever better working and living conditions for all our fatherland's citizens. [cheers, chants]

It is true, comrades, that nobody can become rich without work in our country. Actually, those who criticize us for not giving freedoms for the rich are right. We will never again allow such freedoms; however, we do not have poor people either, and we do not want to have poor people in Romania ever again, but rather a free people with a good and equal life. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, retail trade in the socialist network amounted to 315 billion lei this year, that is 18.5 times higher than in 1950. Daily food consumption increased from 1,800 calories per capita to some 3,300 calories now, which places Romania among the countries with good consumption from the point of view of physiological requirements. At the same time, we strongly increased social expenditure from 3.4 billion lei in 1950 to 20.9 billion lei in 1965, and some 111 billion in 1990, which represents an almost 33-fold increase. At the same time, our party paid particular attention to housing construction and allocated the necessary resources for building some 3 million apartments, of which 2.6 million were after 1965. We also allocated important resources for the construction of hospitals, medical units, schools, educational and cultural centers, sports facilities, and so forth, which ensure ever better living conditions for all our fatherland's inhabitants.

In practical terms, more than 82 percent of the city population today lives in new dwellings; in Bucharest, the percentage is even higher, some 90 percent. The proportion of the urban population increased from 22 percent in 1945 to more than 53 percent this year. The improvement of the whole nation's living standard is clearly reflected by the fact that the average lifespan increased from 42 years in the prewar period to some 70 years now. One can say with justified pride that, in the years of socialist construction, particularly after the Ninth Party Congress, we strongly increased the people's material and intellectual living standard, which clearly proves that our party is doing its best to attain the supreme goal of its policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society, namely the growth of the people's material and intellectual well-being and the ensurance of a dignified and happy life in full freedom and independence. [cheers, chants]

The strong development of the national economy has facilitated Romania's active participation in the international division of labor and in the exchange of material and cultural assets with all states in the world, regardless of social system. It is worth pointing out that, compared with 1950, the total volume of our foreign trade was 5 times higher in 1965 and will be about 53 times higher in 1990, out of which exports will increase some 72 times. All this clearly shows the strength of the Romanian economy and its active participation in the international cooperation with the socialist countries, the developing countries, the developed capitalist countries, and all countries, regardless of social system.

As a result of this entire socioeconomic activity, compared with 1945, the national income increased 7-fold in 1965 and will increase 43-44 times in 1990. On this basis, we ensured the growth of the consumption fund and of the accumulation and development fund, as well as the fatherland's overall progress and the successful construction of socialism in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, the balance sheet also includes the achievements of the 1986-90 5-Year Plan. In the fulfillment of the tasks laid down by the 13th RCP Congress, we carried out profound changes in the entire development of the country during the Eighth 5-Year Plan, by giving priority to intensive development, to the achievement of the targets of the new scientific-technical revolution and the new agrarian revolution, to the firm application of the program for scientifically modernizing and organizing production, and to the implementation of the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing, on the basis of programs and regulations covering the entire economic and financial activity.

Everybody knows the provisions and achievements to date in the current 5-year plan, which, together with the 1990 plan, will ensure an industrial production increase of some 40 percent. We are successfully implementing the development programs for other sectors and branches and the targets of the new agrarian revolution, which led to the achievement this year of the largest ever crop of grain, industrial plants, and vegetables, thus ensuring the best possible conditions for a good supply of the people. One can say that the achievements in the 4 past years of the current 5-year plan and in 1990, the last year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, will ensure the fulfillment of the basic targets of the Eighth 5-Year plan and our fatherland's progress to a new socioeconomic development level.

Everybody knows that during the current 5-year plan we implemented the provisions on increasing remunerations, pensions, and the overall incomes of the working people. As I have said before, all this is included in the general balance sheet of our fatherland's development and greater material and intellectual living standards in the years of socialist construction. The entire socioeconomic development has created the necessary conditions for the improvement of the entire economic and financial activity and for the stability of the currency; it ensured a budgetary surplus, thus creating the necessary conditions for eliminating our foreign debt at the end of last March. The liquidation of our foreign debt is a great achievement of our state's policy, as it puts an end to our country's long dependence on foreign monopolies and financial capital. For the first time in its history, Romania no longer pays tribute or interest to anybody. Everything being produced in our country belongs entirely to the Romanian people, who, one can say, thus became, truly independent from the economic and political viewpoints for the first time in its history. [cheers, chants]

Now, when we are drawing a general balance sheet of the current stage of our socialist society and of the achievements of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, we can say with justified pride that the main targets of the party program for this period and the strategic goals laid down by the 13th RCP Congress are being successfully fulfilled and that, at the beginning of the nineties, Romania will have achieved the strategic goal of the transition to the new stage of being a medium-developed country, which creates new conditions for further raising the level of development and civilization and the general well-being of our people. [cheers, chants]

One can state with justifiable pride that, under the leadership of our glorious Communist Party, which is honorably fulfilling its historical mission, the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all our people, in complete unity, have scored momentous results in the construction of the new social system, thus proving through their undeniable facts, the strength of a nation which has eliminated oppression and inequalities for good, has become full master of its destiny, and is shaping its golden future in freedom and independence. [cheers, chants]

Life and reality clearly show that only in the conditions of socialism were our people able to eliminate the inheritance of the old social systems and the consequences of foreign domination. Socialism is the guarantee of our people's bright present and future. [cheers, chants]

For all these great achievements, now, at the 14th Party Congress, at this wonderful balance sheet of great achievements, I would like to extend to the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, all working people, regardless of nationality, and all our people—on behalf of the Congress, this great forum of Communists—warmest congratulations and best wishes for new achievements along the road of raising Romania to new peaks of progress and civilization. [cheers, chants]

The balance sheet of our people's great achievements under the leadership of the party, in their socioeconomic development and in the growth of the overall level of civilization, clearly proves, through undeniable facts, that Romania has successfully covered several socioeconomic development stages, is in the process of building the new socialist social system, and is currently going through a new development stage. Therefore, the 14th Party Congress can be characterized as the congress of great victories, of the triumph of socialism, of the full assertion of Romania's independence and sovereignty, and Romania's firm progress toward the golden dream, communism. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, looking with justified pride on our great achievements in socialist construction and the fatherland's overall development, we must openly say that the road of these great achievements has not been easy at all. We had to cover a long distance, and on quite a few occasions we had to take uncharted steps and overcome many difficulties, some of which were inherent to the state of backwardness from which our country started. At a certain time, there were also abuses, illegalities, and violations of the basic principles of socialism. However, our party knew how to eliminate all these negative states of affairs and ensure our firm march forward, taking many uncharted steps in the process and finding the best possible ways, in accordance with the Romanian people's realities and strivings for the successful construction of socialism.

We have scored historical results. However, there is yet a long way to go until we complete the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensure the full triumph of socialist, and later of communist principles in the entire life of our society. We should draw all conclusions from both our achievements and our negative states of affairs and shortcomings. We should further improve our activity of socialist construction, by constantly working to unflinchingly apply the principles of scientific socialism and of objective general laws to our fatherland's realities. We should always bear in mind that socialism is being built with the people and for the people and that everything being achieved in our fatherland must ensure the nation's overall development, further raise all the people's material and intellectual well-being, and continuously strengthen Romania's independence and sovereignty. Only thus, by always acting as true communist revolutionaries, will we ensure our firm march forward, implement the party program, and guarantee the victory of socialism and communism in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, the directive program for our socioeconomic development in the Ninth 5-Year Plan and up to the years 2000-2010 ensures the further expansion of the forces of production, the improvement of social relations, and the fatherland's development to a new pinnacle of progress and civilization.

The 14th Party Congress marks Romania's transition to a new development stage and to the implementation of the superior stage of the program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and creating the necessary conditions for the application of communist principles of work and life. Proceeding on the basis of the current level of industry, agriculture, and other sectors, we will lay emphasis in the next 5-year plan and up to the years 2000-2010 on the intensive development of all sectors of activity, on a new quality of work and life, and on an ever higher technical level of the entire production, by firmly applying the latest achievements of science and technology.

Throughout the next decade, primarily during the 1991-1995 5-Year Plan, we will focus on the implementation of the program on scientifically organizing and modernizing activities in all sectors. Consequently, we will start from the fact that the current development level of the Romanian economy as well as various other world trends demand an intensification of our technical and scientific research activity, in order to implement and organize production on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology. This is a law-governed requirement of the development of human society and of the successful construction of socialism and communism.

Likewise, we will pay particular attention to further raising labor productivity and increasing efficiency and profitability in all sectors. Special attention will be paid in the next 5-year period and in the period until the year 2000 to the rational distribution of the forces of production throughout the country and to the socioeconomic development of all counties, towns, and communes in our fatherland. The fulfillment of the provisions of the program directive for the Ninth 5-year Plan, for the next decade, and for the period up to the year 2010 should raise Romania to a high socioeconomic development level and create the technical-material base of the comprehensively developed socialist society and of the transition to the superior development stage, communism. [cheers, chants]

As stipulated in the directive program, the industrial commodity production will increase by 30-35 percent; however, one should bear in mind that the discussions held within the party and the whole nation revealed that we should consider this increase as a small one, hence we should strive to further increase industrial production, on the basis of the intensive development and better utilization of raw and other materials and of our people's work. On this basis, we will have to further increase the social product and national income, as a basic prerequisite for ensuring the necessary ways and means to continuously develop our country and raise the people's material and intellectual living standard, which is the supreme goal of the party's policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society we are successfully building in Romania.

In the 1991-95 5-Year Plan, we will ensure the harmonious development of all national economic branches, remove certain contradictions that have emerged in the development of various sectors, and eliminate certain lags. We should ensure such a pace of national economic growth as to commendably satisfy socioeconomic requirements for proper supplies and export, which are basic prerequisites for Romania's firm progress toward new peaks of progress and civilization. The main indicators for Romania's development in the Ninth 5-Year Plan are the following. Since they were published, I will not read them aloud.

As shown by these figures, the intensive development of industry will continue to be a central target of our entire activity. As I have already said, emphasis will be laid not so much on the extensive aspect, but rather on the intensive development and better utilization of products and on their technical and qualitative level.

Special attention will be paid to further expanding the domestic base of raw materials and energy resources and to better utilizing useful ingredients from deposits. We should intensify geological prospecting, in order to find new reserves of raw and other materials and energy sources. In view of our existing reserves, by 1995 the coal and lignite production should reach some 80 million tonnes and the coking pit coal production should exceed 20 million tonnes, thus ensuring at least 90 percent of our requirements for coking coal. Accordingly, we should increase the nonferrous metal production, which must fully satisfy our national economic requirements. Particular attention will be paid to increasing our crude oil reserves and their recovery rate, in order to further increase the crude oil production. One should also rationally plan the extraction of natural gas, so as to ensure the necessary reserves for a longer period of time. Likewise, all branches should pay maximum attention to recovering and reusing reusable materials, which, in some sectors, will cover more than 50 percent of our national economic requirements.

In the Ninth 5-Year Plan, we will have to radically solve the energy problem, by expanding and improving hydroenergetic units, ensuring the full operation of coal-based thermopower stations, and utilizing recoverable energy resources and non-conventional sources. Bearing in mind the lags in putting nuclear power stations into production it is necessary to focus all our efforts in this direction, so that by 1995 we will ensure the operation of all nuclear energy groups and provide approximately 50 percent of our country's energy requirements.

At the same time, we must fulfill the programs for the development of non-conventional resources, microhydropower stations, bio-gas, wind and solar energy, which must ensure the full energy autonomy of some smaller localities. One should also take more resolute steps to work out new technologies, which can substantially reduce fuel consumption in all sectors, including the production of electrical and thermal energy, lighting, and energy distribution, and can further increase efficiency in all sectors of activity.

The program directive provides for the strong development of metallurgy, chemistry, petrochemistry, machine building, construction materials, and the light and food industry. Steps should be taken in all branches and sectors to commendably fulfill the provisions of the program directive, to raise our socialist industry to a qualitative and technical level that can produce competitive products at a world level. Let us also ensure that, in certain spheres, the Romanian industry will be among the best and even occupy the first place in the world. [cheers, chants]

For this purpose, we have everything that is needed; we have a modern industry, wonderful workers, technicians, and engineers. Therefore, we can be fully confident that the working people in industry will successfully fulfill the targets of the Ninth 5-Year Plan aimed at building a powerful and highly profitable and technical industry. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, agriculture is the basic branch of the national economy that has to commendably meet the supply needs of the people, of the whole economy, and constantly improve our people's standard of living.

Proceeding on the basis of this objective requirement, the Ninth 5-Year Plan and later on all our activities will focus on the development and modernization of our entire agriculture and on meeting the requirement of the new agrarian revolution on the basis of intensive development in all areas. We must constantly bear in mind that the soil is the most important national asset of the whole people, a decisive factor for the development of our nation in general.

Therefore, the conservation and improvement of the productive potential of the land stock is a basic obligation of our entire policy of building socialism and communism. It is necessary for us to ensure the commendable implementation of the irrigation and land-improvement program, so that by 1995 at least 6 million hectares of land will be irrigated and that by the year 2000 we will conclude the organization of the whole national irrigation system which will total some 7-7.5 million hectares of agricultural land, of which 5.5 million hectares are arable land.

At the same time, we have to intensify soil erosion and humidity control operations and complete this whole activity by 1995 in general terms. Grain yields have to continue to be the focus of our activity by ensuring stable yields under any climatic conditions. Considering this year's record grain yields of more than 60 million tonnes, it is necessary to propose ensuring constant yields of at least 50 million tonnes in the coming years. With such grain yields we will completely meet our domestic needs and will also have a certain quantity left for export. I am referring to the 50 million tonnes, while ensuring the utilization of land, on which we are cultivating grains today, for other sectors of activity in agriculture.

We have to ensure larger yields of industrial crops, especially sunflower, soybean, and sugar beet, so that they are at least as high as this year's yields. Special attention has to be paid to vegetable growing which, both as concerns yields and varieties, will secure proper supplies for the people throughout the year. Similarly, it is necessary to modernize fruit tree plantations and vineyards and to ensure stable yields to meet the new requirements of the new agrarian revolution.

One can actually say that in the area of vegetable yields we have all necessary conditions to meet, as early as the next 5-year plan, the requirements of the party program aimed at achieving a highly profitable and productive agriculture that will be able to compete and be compared with the best ones in the world. [applause]

We have to continue to pay special attention to animal breeding. We have implemented provisions on the number of pigs and poultry. There are still lags in increasing the number of cattle and sheep, although in this case we also have important increases. However, in the next 5-year plan we have to propose to completely fulfill the goals on increasing the number of cattle to at least 11 million, of which 5 million are milk cows and at least 30-35 million sheep, of which at least 25 million are lamb-bearing ewes. At the same time, we have to ensure an appropriate increase in meat, milk, wool, and egg production by securing proper supplies for the population in conformity with the most exacting requirements of science on the proper nutrition for our whole nation.

To fulfill the tasks in the livestock sector, decisive measures are necessary to ensure a vigorous development of the fodder base, a better plan for the more than 4 million hectares of pastures and grasslands and some 2-3 million hectares of the forestry stock, a fact that will ensure a proper base for developing our livestock sector.

At the same time, firm measures are necessary to ensure the proper mechanization and chemicalization of the whole agricultural sector, and to apply the most modern technologies and achievements of science, a decisive factor in fulfilling the targets of the new agrarian revolution and achieving a highly productive agriculture. We have to say that in agriculture, too, our achievements up to now demonstrate the potential we have and especially the activity carried out by cooperative farmers, specialists, and all working people, which is a guarantee that in this field, too, we will completely implement the provisions of the next 5-year plan. [applause]

In forestry, it is necessary to ensure the implementation of the reforestation program in the next 5-year plan by commendably ensuring the preservation of forests and, at the same time, by paying the necessary attention to our own varieties and to an equitable ratio between various varieties in keeping with conditions in our country.

It is also necessary to take very firm action to implement the national program for the comprehensive improvement of hydrographic basins for the rational use of water and for keeping it as clean as possible.

Generally speaking, special attention must be paid to environmental problems by viewing them as some of the basic problems of socialist construction and of ensuring our homeland's future. Bearing, however, in mind that the environmental problem becomes ever more complex and that it cannot be solved except through broad cooperation with all states, it is necessary for our country to participate much more actively in and to work toward eliminating certain causes of environmental pollution, which has become a threat on our planet; this includes both nuclear testing and outer space flights, which, however, are not mentioned by those guilty for the current situation of the environment.

This is why Romania believes that it is necessary to take organized action within the United Nations in order to put a halt to the attitude of destroying the environment, to save our planet, and ensure life on earth. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, it is necessary to ensure the development of the bases for storing our agricultural produce and foodstuffs and to perfect the contracting and procurement system, so that we will constantly have secure reserves that are needed for the proper supply of the people, and so as to meet other requirements for agricultural raw and other materials of the national economy.

I believe that in the next 5-year plan, apart from meeting normal consumption needs, it is necessary to ensure reserves of food and agricultural products for at least 6 months.

In the transportation area, it is necessary to work toward the proper utilization of transportation means, toward increasing the speed of transportation, and toward reducing the consumption of fuel and electricity by achieving the best possible regional distribution of transportation and by avoiding overlapping and useless long distances.

Accordingly, the telecommunications activity and postal services will be developed by introducing new achievements of science and technology and by perfecting, on this basis, the overall telecommunications system.

In all socioeconomic sectors, we have to take very firm action to modernize and perfect all activities on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology. We have everything that is needed to make sure that during the next 5-year plan we will complete, in general terms, the programs for perfecting and modernizing all sectors of activity. This will raise to a higher level all our activities and will place Romania among the ranks of the countries with a progressive and modern economy that can compete in all fields. This is one of the vital requirements of implementing the party program and of raising our homeland to new heights of progress and civilization.

Esteemed comrades, the implementation of the programs for socioeconomic development requires, as an objective need, to allocate—in the future too—28-30 percent of the national income for the accumulation and development fund.

On this basis, in the next 10-year period we will achieve investments of 3.2-3.5 billion lei, of which 1.6-1.7 billion lei will be achieved in the Ninth 5-Year Plan. In the next 5-year plan, investments will be channeled primarily toward the more intensive development of the raw material base, toward implementing the energy program and the fulfillment of the targets aimed at the intensive development of industry and of the other branches of activity, and toward implementing the programs for organizing and modernizing them on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology.

We will also allocate important funds for implementing the irrigation and land-improvement program, for modernizing agriculture, and for fulfilling the programs for the construction of housing, of sociocultural establishments, and for improving the general level of civilization of all localities in our homeland.

The implementation of the investment program in all areas requires firm measures to perfect the construction activity, to achieve new modern technologies, and to reduce material consumption and, in general, expenditure in the area of construction.

Particular attention will have to be paid to shortening the time required for executing operation, to putting the new socioeconomic objectives into operation on schedule, and to completing housing projects, thus ensuring the increase of the efficiency and profitability in this important sector of the national economy. In ensuring the achievement of the socioeconomic development objectives, we will continue to pay particular attention to the correct and balanced distribution of the production forces in all counties and regions of the country, thus we will ensure the continuous modernization of all localities.

Proceeding on the basis of the provisions of the program directive, socioeconomic development programs have been elaborated with the direct participation of all citizens in all counties, towns, and communes, programs that, after their finalization, will be an integral part of the 9th 5-year plan. All counties will focus on the balanced and harmonious development of all socioeconomic activities, on the effective utilization of the productive potential that has been achieved so far, and on the judicious distribution of the new socioeconomic objectives. On this basis, conditions will be created to ensure that in 1990 all counties will achieve a volume of at least 100,000 lei worth of activity per citizen, and in more than 20 counties this will exceed 150,000 lei. A particular attention will be attached to the development of the new agro-industrial centers and of all communes, proceedings on the basis of the need to obtain an agricultural production of at least 35-40,000 lei per hectare in the agricultural area and a more marked increase of the small-scale industry and of services. Thus, in this way, we will achieve a rate of at least 6,000-7,000 lei per inhabitant. At the same time, firm measures will have to be taken to make complete use of all means of production, of the land, and of the industrial production capacities, to develop services, to rationally organize housing construction, urban development activities, transportation, and to ensure a proper operation of the trade and public food catering units as well as education, health, and cultural units. All these will ensure a marked development of all localities of our homeland and the implementation of the principles of self-management and self-administration and will ensure the proper flow of the whole activity on the basis of self-financing. On this basis we will raise the general socioeconomic level of all localities, and we will implement our party policy of ensuring true equality of rights among all citizens of our country. We will continuously bring closer the working and living conditions of working people in villages with those living in towns, and we will raise the general standard of living in all localities of our homeland, as one of the fundamental requirements of successfully building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring the advancement toward communism. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, the fulfillment of the great objectives of the socialist construction in our homeland requires the more marked development of education, science, and culture and an increase in the general level of professional, scientific, and technical training and the level of general culture of our whole nation. We should continue to perfect all levels of education, and achieve an increasingly closer connection between education and production and research. All grades of education, particularly high school training and higher education should arm young people with the latest scientific and technological discoveries and with human knowledge in general. The intensive development, modernization, and the scientific organization of all socioeconomic sectors require people with high levels of knowledge and proper training in all areas. Concurrently with the action of generally applying the 12-grade education level, we will create necessary conditions to raise the level of knowledge of all working people, to achieve a workers class and cooperative peasantry with a high level of technical-scientific training, to achieve an intellectual workers class and peasantry, and to raise the level of knowledge of our whole nation who, in the next decade, must became people with high level of knowledge, culture, and revolutionary spirit, a nation with a high intellectual level, this being the guarantee for the successful advancement of our homeland on the path of socialism and communism, on the path of well-being and happiness of our whole nation. [applause]

Scientific and technological research play an increasingly important role, thus they should ensure a high technological and qualitative level of all Romanian products, which—I want to repeat it—should be able to compete with the best similar products in the world arena and in some areas they should actually be the best products.

We must concentrate our attention on implementing the programs of modernization and raising the technological level of all products and elaborate new technologies that can contribute to the expansion of the basis of raw material and energy, to increasing profitability, and reducing material and energy consumption. It is necessary to ensure the achievement of new, highly superior materials in chemistry, metallurgy, construction material and other areas. New equipment, technical installations, and new machines with superior characteristics should be developed, which can ensure the marked increase of labor productivity, of profitability, and economic efficiency.

We should continue to pay particular attention to agricultural sciences, biology, genetics, and to the issues of achieving the objectives of the new agrarian revolution. At the same time, we will have to pay greater attention to basic research, by paying particular attention to mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology, with a view to ensuring a better understanding of the phenomena of life, nature, and the general development of mankind. We should always proceed from the fact that everything that mankind has achieved and everything that we have achieved in our homeland is the result of the continuous expansion of knowledge and of the understanding of laws that govern the matter, the world, and the development of human society and that the great discoveries in science, technology, and human knowledge in general have not been concluded and that there are still many, very many things that have to be better understood in order to assist the general development of mankind. Let us constantly proceed from the materialist-dialectical theses, according to which there are no problems that cannot be understood, there are only problems that have not been understood yet, and we should do all we can and see to it that the Romanian science makes a greater contribution, in the future too, to the greater understanding of the general laws of mankind, to the development of our homeland, and to the successful building of the new social system, communism. [applause]

We should permanently bear in mind that socialism and communism require an increasingly higher level of technical, scientific, economic, and social knowledge and that communism can be only the result of the organization of the whole activity on the basis of the latest scientific and technological discoveries and the human knowledge in general. Socialism and communism themselves mean knowledge, science, and progress and I want to repeat it again that we should do our utmost to see to it that the Romanian science plays an active role in ensuring the general development of our homeland, and makes an increasingly greater contribution to the universal science and knowledge. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, the general development of our homeland, the implementation of our programs for socioeconomic development in the coming decade require more resolute actions to expand our international economic relations, production sharing, and technical-scientific cooperation with all countries regardless of social system. We will have to proceed from the fact that, we should ensure Romania's more active participation in the international division of labor and in the exchange of material and cultural values. In the 9th 5-year plan period, the volume of foreign trade will have to markedly increase, by 55-60 percent compared to the 8th 5-year plan period. Within this framework, we should ensure a more marked increase of exports, particularly the export of products with a high technological and qualitative level. We should permanently bear in mind that Romania is importing and will continue to import in the future significant quantities of raw and other materials which are necessary for the development of our national economy. We will have to pay greater attention to production sharing and to the technical and scientific research activity with other countries. Our country will continue to focus, also in the future, on relations of economic, technical and scientific cooperation with all socialist countries. We highly value the important role played by CEMA and we plan to actively participate in the work of perfecting its activity and in achieving the long-term programs up to the year 2000, including the field of science and technology. We believe that socialist countries and the CEMA have great potential to expand cooperation and jointly find solutions to the various problems of socioeconomic progress. Likewise, the CEMA member countries and all socialist countries in general, should examine more thoroughly the problems of how to overcome certain current difficulties, should cooperate more closely, and should ensure the progress on the path of socialism and the rise of the living standard and the material and cultural level of their peoples. In the opinion of our party, this can be ensured only by perfecting and strengthening cooperation within the CEMA, without affecting the national independence of each country; on the contrary, it should ensure a more marked development of each country's national economy and should ensure a harmonious development of all countries, and the successful development of socialism in all countries, something that requires a high level of production forces, of science, and culture, and a high standard of living and material and spiritual level of peoples.

We will also intensify our cooperation with developing countries by expanding cooperation and achieving some economic objectives that will ensure the socioeconomic development of our countries. We believe that, through joint efforts, developing countries can achieve a great progress in the coming decade in the development of their independent economy, and Romania is determined to broadly develop this cooperation with all developing countries. Likewise, we will continue to expand economic, technical, and scientific relations with developed capitalist countries as well, and with all the countries of the world, regardless of social system, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, legality, and mutual advantage. We believe that it is in the interest of all countries, regardless of social system, to achieve a broad economic cooperation, that should eliminate all customs or other types of restrictions and barriers and all economic political conditions and pressures and interference in domestic affairs should be eliminated. Only on the basis of economic relations among truly free states, which enjoy equality of rights, can the socioeconomic progress of all nations be ensured, the serious problems of the current world economic situation be overcome, and the socioeconomic progress of all nations of the world be ensured. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, the successful fulfillment of the targets of the new five-year plan and of the period until 2000-2010 requires the further growth of economic efficiency and profitability in all spheres. More resolute steps should be taken to reduce material and energy consumption and to strongly increase labor productivity in all sectors. The resolute implementation of the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing should ensure the improvement of the entire economic-financial system, the enhancement of economic considerations, and the strengthening of objective laws in the entire activity, including the law on value.

As is known from the program directive, in the Ninth 5-Year Plan we must obtain an annual increase in the national income of at least 7-7.7 percent. However, proceeding on the basis of proposals made by various working people's collectives and party conferences, I would like to emphasize that we should strive to further increase the national income, as this is the only way to ensure the necessary means to promote the fatherland's overall development and raise the people's material and intellectual living standard. [cheers, chants]

In view of the current development level of the Romanian economy and the requirement for Romania's firm progress toward new levels of socioeconomic development, the program directive stipulates that we should rationally distribute the national income during the next 5-year plan and throughout the coming 20 years, by allocating 70-72 percent to the consumption fund and 28-30 percent for the development and accumlation fund. We will thus ensure the necessary resources both for the fatherland's development programs and for the continuous growth of the people's material and intellectual living standard. Special attention should be paid to maintaining the stability production costs and retail prices. One should accelerate the rotation speed of money, achieve a healthy monetary circulation, and strengthen the country's finances, a decisive prerequisite for fulfilling our fatherland's socioeconomic development targets.

All this requires an improvement of the entire financial system; the unflinching implementation of the laws governing the system of setting prices and financing the socioeconomic activity; strict observation of economic-financial regulations; a reduction in stockpiles; an increase in the rotation speed of circulating means; an increase in production efficiency; and the enhancement of financial discipline. The entire banking and financial system and the financial control bodies should further improve their work and fulfill the important role they play in the the country's entire economic and financial activity.

Esteemed comrades, the fulfillment of our development programs and our country's progress to a new socioeconomic level ensure the unflinching implementation of the party's policy of further increasing the people's material and intellectual living standard, the supreme goal of the party policy and the very essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society we are successfully building in Romania. We should always bear in mind that everything we build in Romania belongs to the people and must ensure the country's development and the people's permanent well-being. [cheers, chants]

For the coming 5-year period, the program directive stipulates an increase in the average real remuneration by 5-8 percent in 1995, compared with 1990; it also stipulates an increase in the cooperative peasantry's overall incomes by the same percentage, that is 5-8 percent. However, one should not forget that any increase in the working people's incomes is closely linked to the continuous development of the forces of production and the society's general level. We cannot and will never be able to consume more than our national economic development permits us. Were we to commit the big mistake of consuming more than our existing potential, we would soon have to halt our socioeconomic development process, thus condemning our fatherland to backwardness, with serious consequences for the entire socioeconomic development of future generations and for the construction of socialism. We must do all we can to ensure the future of well-being and independence for the fatherland and future generations. [cheers, chants]

We should do everything possible to further increase the net production, labor productivity, and the national incomes and to ensure a just distribution of our society's means at a given time, both for development and consumption. One should never forget that we bear great responsibility both for the current living standard and for the fatherland's future. One should always give priority to further developing the country, which is a guarantee for our progress, for the successful construction of socialism and communism, and for Romania's true independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

We will unflinchingly promote the socialist principles of remuneration and social equity and justice. In this spirit, we will further ensure that the ratio between small and large incomes should be between 1-4.5. I believe that this will correspond, for a long period of time, to our fatherland's realities and development requirements. I would like to be properly understood by everybody. When I say that this ratio is quite appropriate for a long period of time, I do not mean to increase this ratio of 1-4.5, but rather to reduce it in the future. In any case, there is no question of a change in the ratio between large and small incomes—and our society will not permit it—that can lead to the gathering of rich people at one pole and poor people at the other. The ratio of 1 to 4.5 is quite adequate, and in the future one may raise the problem of a certain reduction, (?not a big one), because this is social justice and shows concern for the people's overall well-being. [cheers, chants]

Why do I talk about all this comrades? Because measures are being taken in some socialist countries to increase the ratio between large and small incomes; there is even talk about an increase in the number of the rich, a small number of rich people along with a growing number of poor people. Some even see nothing wrong in having unemployment, like in the capitalist countries. This brings to my mind what Caragiale [19th century Romanian playwright] said, of course in the last century, namely why should we also not have our own bankrupts? [cheers, chants]

Of course, comrades, this is not a socialist approach and we cannot possibly permit in our society that wealth should accumulate in the hands of a few people, while the number of the poor grows. I put this before the congress, the party, and our people, because this must be one of the basic decisions of our congress, namely that we will never allow in Romania the existence of rich people, through the exploitation of the work of others. Let us have a people of well-being and happiness, a people of working people that are rich from their work. This is socialism. [cheers, chants]

Of course, the revolutionary forces and the peoples in the respective countries will have to solve these problems. As far as we are concerned, we will be on the side of those revolutionaries, who fight for socialism and ensure social justice and the people's well-being, and we will always grant them support, by strengthening solidarity and cooperation with all those struggling for socialism anywhere. [cheers, chants]

One should firmly apply the overall contract system, so as to achieve a close correlation between each man's incomes and the results of his personal work and the entire collective's activity. We will firmly apply the socialist principle of from everyone, according to his capacity, to everyone, according to his work. We will ensure that the socialist principle of no work without bread and no bread without work will be at the basis of the entire incomes and remuneration system in our country. We should always bear in mind that work is the only source of income in our society, the creative activity in various sectors of activity for the fatherland's progress and activity. Nobody in Romania should have income without work. Nobody should live by oppressing and exploiting the work of others. [cheers, chants]

We must firmly apply the basic principle of socialism, namely social equity and justice. Any violation of this principle means to violate the objective laws of the socialist society. It also means obstacles for our fatherland's development.

We will take the necessary steps to fulfill our self-sufficiency programs and increase retail sales through the socialist network by 5-8 percent in 1995, compared with 1990. Special attention will be paid to the proper supply of the people with agricultural and food products, in accordance with existing self-sufficiency programs, which ensure a good consumption level for the whole nation; likewise, we will ensure proper supplies of necessary industrial commodities of a wide variety and ever higher qualitative level. We will further develop the service sector, whose volume will increase by 60-75 percent in the coming 5-year plan period. One can say that, in the Ninth 5-Year Plan we will ensure a good consumption level and will better satisfy the whole nation's material and intellectual living standard requirements, in accordance with exact scientific requirements. At the same time, as stipulated by the program directive, in the 1991-1995 5-Year Plan we will build another 7,000 [as heard] apartments from the state's funds in municipalities, towns, and the future agricultural and industrial centers, and for workers and experts in all our fatherland's communes.

One can say that in the next 5-year plan we will solve, in general terms, the problem of housing by ensuring in cities a housing area of some 12 square meters per resident plus the necessary facilities. We will ensure the further improvement of medicare, including by making the best use of the existing material base, by guaranteeing all communes in our homelands medical units and everything that is necessary for the proper care of the health of our whole nation.

Special attention will be paid to developing the material base for the 12-grade education level and to developing the cultural-artistic base, important factors for improving the general standard of knowledge of our whole nation. The implementation of the 1991-95 5-year plan provisions will ensure Romania's firm advancement toward new heights of progress and civilization.

The unflinching implementation of the party program and raising our people's level of civilization, of progress, and of well-being to a higher standard will constitute a decisive stage for our homeland's firm advance toward the golden dream—toward communism. [cheers, chants]

The program directive stipulates long-term guidelines up to the year 2000-10, a period in which Romania is to achieve a high level of socioeconomic development, so that at the beginning of the third millennium we will achieve the strategic target of turning Romania into a comprehensively developed socialist state with a high material cultural civilization.

In agriculture, by ensuring the planned yields of 50-60 million tonnes of grain and, accordingly, stable yields for all vegetable crops, we will ensure the development of the whole livestock sector, so that our agriculture will also rank among the agricultures with large yields and with one of the best efficiencies and profitabilities in the world.

Let us vigorously improve the general development level of all sectors by ensuring balanced and harmonious progress and by eliminating any imbalance or contradiction among various branches of activity.

At the end of the second millennium and the beginning of the third millennium, Romanian science, education, and culture have to reach such a level of development as to raise the general standard of all our people, so that our whole nation is armed with the most modern science, technology, and knowledge, and that they are armed with a high level of intellectual knowledge and with a revolutionary and militant spirit.

The general level of our homeland's development will commendably meet the basic necessities of life, including housing requirements, of all our homeland's residents. At the same time, we have to constantly bear in mind to ensure such a development of the national economy and organization of the production process and labor, so that all our homeland's citizens, and all our youth will have secure jobs, that they will participate—in one sector or another within the division of labor in our society—in the implementation of the programs aimed at our homeland's development.

At the same time, within this framework, we will pay particular attention to expanding social activity, to increasing certain general social expenditures by society in order to ensure optimal and equal conditions for all the sons of our homeland.

I would like to emphasize especially the fact that the state covered all the expenses for youth, for education, culture, and health. As a matter of fact, we must constantly bear in mind that the state's covering the expenses for various social activities is an objective requirement of generally improving the standard of living and of ensuring genuine equality of rights for all the sons of our homeland.

Thus, the necessary material and scientific-technical conditions and conditions from the point of view of the general training of the working people and of all our people will be created, so that our society will be able to gradually move to the higher stage of socialism—to applying the communist principles of work and life.

Let us work so that from the very beginning of the third millennium our homeland will offer the necessary conditions for Romania's firm advancement toward the high golden pinnacles—toward the communist society. All these long-term orientations are not mere desires, abstract or theoretical dreams; they are based on the great achievements attained by the Romanian people in successfully building socialism and will be the results of the unflinching implementation of the decisions of the 14th Congress and of the party program, they will be the result of our people's united work. [cheers, chants]

A guarantee for their achievement is the just policy promoted by our Communist Party, the leading political force of the whole society, the creative, fervent, and enthusiastic activity of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and of all working people, irrespective of nationality, and the work of all our people, who have implemented and will continue to unflinchingly implement the general policy of developing our homeland. In complete unity and under the leadership of our Communist Party, let us pledge in front of the party and of our people that we will do all we can to achieve these wonderful goals, that we will ensure the triumph of the comprehensively developed socialist society in our homeland, and that we will improve the standard of living, of well-being, and happiness of all our people by ensuring the constant strengthening of Romania's independence and sovereignty as a free and dignified country among the ranks of the free nations in the world. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, we have a socioeconomic development program and excellent prospects for our homeland's progress toward new heights of progress and civilization. To achieve this, it is necessary to work with great responsibility and in a revolutionary spirit to constantly perfect the management and planning activity on the basis of workers revolutionary democracy of all activities.

Proceeding on the basis of preserving or even enhancing the role of the state in smoothly organizing and managing the activity of socialist construction, we will have to work with determination to perfect and improve the activity of the state bodies in all sectors of activity.

We must firmly put an end to bureaucracy and red tape; the center of activity should move to units, enterprises, counties, cities, and communes; that is where the fulfillment of all plans and programs for socioeconomic development are, in fact, decided. It is necessary to perfect the formulation of the socioeconomic development plan by dialectically blending the role of the central bodies with that of the socioeconomic units and of the people's masses in formulating all development programs and plans.

All our future activities have to be based on the uniform national plan of socioeconomic development that ensures the blending of general interests in the development of the whole country along the road of socialism by capitalizing on the experience and potential of the economic and regional-administrative units. Let us take very determined action to increase and perfect the activity of people's councils as bodies of self-management and self-sufficiency with a view to unflinchingly fulfilling the targets aimed at developing all areas and localities in our homeland.

Throughout our activity, we must consistently proceed on the basis of the guidelines established as early as the Ninth Party Congress, namely of applying the objective laws and the principles of scientific socialism to Romania's conditions and realities. We must always bear in mind that thus socialism is being built in a different way in accordance with the specific conditions in other countries and in accordance with different development stages. We must never forget that we have to have a revolutionary attitude when establishing our homeland's socialist development road by proceeding on the basis of the need to constantly eliminate everything that is outdated and no longer corresponds to the new realities, and to boldly promote newness in all areas.

In this spirit, we have to work constantly to perfect all socioeconomic activities of building socialism. However, once again I want to repeat, comrades, that we are firmly struggling against the old, against what is no longer suitable. We must treasure and constantly develop socialism. By no means and under no circumstances should we tolerate any attempts at the Romanian people's socialism, or that anyone, no matter in what form, should hamper Romania's advancement toward communism. [cheers, chants]

As you know, a popular saying warns: Do not throw the baby out with the bath water. However, we no longer have a baby. Socialism has become a strong young man, a Prince Charming, who grew within one month as others did throughout one year, as the story goes, thus turning into a strong and big lad who will assert himself throughout the world, because socialism alone represents the future. This is why, in criticizing what is bad, we do not have to throw out socialism, but those who through their deeds have caused damage to socialism. What can one say about those who today say that they no longer want socialism, that they want to move to capitalism, although they held leading positions in one or another country. Have they worked for socialism? Any one can ask this question. It seems that a logical reply is that they have used the positions they have held in order to hamper the development of socialism, that they have not served the people and do not intend to serve them.

This is why, in all seriousness, I say in front of the party and people that we constantly bear in mind that we must do all we can, so that this wonderful young man—socialism—this Prince Charming of humanity may triumph not only in Romania, but throughout the world. Thus we will do our duty as Communists and as genuine citizens of socialist Romania. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, proceeding on the basis of the scientific and revolutionary principle of building socialism with the people and for the people, it is necessary to further develop and improve the system of our revolutionary workers democracy. Let us ensure that the general meetings of owners and producers as well as the working people's councils, in which workers represent at least 30 percent, play an ever more important role in commendably administering the fixed assets and that part of the national wealth entrusted to each collective, and that they participate in working out and implementing the socioeconomic development programs of each unit and the whole country. Let us further ensure the proper functioning of the county organizations of our revolutionary workers democracy and a smooth development of activities in all sectors.

An ever more important role should be played by the Working People's Congress, which convenes once every 5 years and is attended by some 11,000; the Agriculture Congress, which is also attended by 11,000 cooperative farmers and working people from agriculture; the Congress of Science and Education, which is attended by 7,000 working people from these spheres of activity; the Congress of Education and Culture; and the Congress of People's Councils, which discusses the activity of local state bodies and elects the Legislative Chamber, which in turn examines all laws and programs on the socioeconomic development of our fatherland's counties and localities. All these congresses elect their leading councils, which run the activity in between the congresses; these leading councils ensure the constant and organized participation of all social categories in working out our fatherland's domestic and foreign policy.

We must ensure that the congresses, the leading councils, and all other bodies of our revolutionary workers democracy cooperate ever more closely with the party bodies and ensure the broadest possible democracy in the entire development of our socialist society. As is well known, we have improved the activity of the Grand National Assembly [GNA], the State Council, the Supreme Development Council, and other bodies which ensure that all laws on our state's activity reflect the will of our whole nation.

We should further improve the activity of all these bodies and further expand the forms of our revolutionary workers democracy, starting from the fact that socialism can only be built on the basis of the broadest possible democracy, which ensures the active participation of the whole nation in consciously shaping its own future. We should always bear in mind that socialism itself is the highest democratic form and ensures the best possible overall conditions, which cannot even compare with any other form of bourgeois democracy, because one can never talk about true equality between exploiters and exploited and between rich and poor. Only by creating a society of true social equality and justice, can one also achieve true democracy and create conditions for ensuring that the people themselves are deciding on and implementing the fatherland's development, as well as the successful construction of socialism. [cheers, chants]

I discussed all these problems at the October plenum of the party's Central Committee on ideological matters; therefore, I do not wish to dwell upon them now. However, I would like to recall that many years ago our party deemed it necessary to renounce the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, finding that it is not in accordance with the real class composition of the socialist state and does not express its democratic essence. We came to the conclusion, and life has clearly proved it right, that the notion of revolutionary workers democracy, the state of the working people and of the people themselves ensures an appropriate blending of the role of state organs with that of the bodies of the revolutionary workers democracy, including the broad participation of the masses in running the entire society.

In this respect, I would like to talk about the need to properly understand the importance of further strengthening the whole nation's property and the cooperative property, as a lasting foundation for the successful fulfillment of our socioeconomic development programs and for the construction of socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

One can hardly understand certain anti-scientific theses on equality among various forms of ownership. As everybody knows, mankind has experienced various social systems and forms of ownerships and, as everybody is also well aware, their removal was done through the struggle of new social forces. If one talks about equality among various forms of ownership, why should one not talk about the need for the feudal and slave ownership, not only the capitalist one, to find its place in a given form. Maybe some people are even thinking along these lines. We should resolutely reject such theses, which can only harm the general progress of human society, particularly the progress of the socialist society. One can talk, and we should emphasize this, about the full equality among various forms of socialist ownership, namely the people's property and the cooperative property. As you all know, many years ago we rejected the thesis about differences between various forms of socialist ownership. We advocated and implemented true equality between the whole nation's property and cooperative property, by granting them both our full support, so as to fulfill the goals of developing the forces of production and raising our fatherland to new peaks of progress and civilization.

Starting from all these considerations, we should further strengthen the whole nation's property and the cooperative property, that is the socialist property, as a foundation of our fatherland's entire development and of socialism in general. Let us further improve the system of our revolutionary workers democracy and base the entire activity on the fundamental principles of defending the whole nation's interests. [cheers, chants]

The entire work should rely on the country's Constitution, which is the basic charter of socialist development and of Romania's integrity and independence. Activities in all spheres should rely solely on the country's laws, which regulate and ensure the uniform development of our fatherland and the full equality of rights among all the country's citizens. In this respect, we should continue to improve the justice and prosecutor's office bodies, which must carry out their activity in close connection with the broad people's masses. We should ensure the proper functioning of trial councils and commissions, as well as the participation of the broad masses in defending order, the socialist property, and good social coexistence.

Let us further improve the activity of our internal order organs, of militia and security bodies, so as to firmly defend the working people's property, the cooperative property, all the people's assets, all citizens' work and life, and our revolutionary conquests. Let us ensure the defense and observance of the country's laws. As I have said on many other occasions, we should make sure that no one is unjustly punished; at the same time, no one should be in a position to shun responsibility before the people and the country's laws for law infringements and for treason to the country's interests, to socialism, and to the fatherland's independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

In view of the requirements to defend Romania's integrity and independence, our party and socialist state will continue to pay all due attention to further strengthening the fatherland's defense capacity. In the spirit of our military doctrine, which stipulates that the Army's role is to defend the fatherland's independence and integrity and excludes any aggressive actions against other countries, we must strengthen the Army's combat capability and ensure the whole nation's active participation in the defense of our revolutionary achievements, of our independence and sovereignty, and of our socialist society.

Let us strengthen cooperation between the Armed Forces, patriotic guards, and paramilitary youth units, while always bearing in mind, I repeat this, that the defense of the fatherland and socialism is and must always be the work of the whole nation, which should shape its free and independent future, in accordance with its wishes, without any outside interference. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, I would like to reiterate, at the 14th Party Congress, that Romania is determined to strengthen cooperation with the armies of socialist countries, to actively participate in the activity of the Warsaw Pact, until the concurrent abolition of both the Warsaw Pact and NATO. We deem it necessary to cooperate with the armies of socialist countries and other friendly armies, for the defense of our countries and of their independence, and against any kind of outside aggression in any circumstances.

By adopting the new programs for the fatherland's development, we should resolutely pledge ourselves to do all we can to properly organize and improve the entire activity, so as to ensure that, in the process of socialist construction, we are always up to the latest requirements of scientific-cultural development, and that all our actions are in accordance with the people's interests and their future of freedom and independence. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, the noteworthy achievements attained by the Romanian people in the revolutionary change of our society and in successfully building socialism, demonstrates on the basis of undeniable facts the correctness of the general domestic and foreign policy promoted by the RCP, the leading political force of the entire nation that has always worked to creatively apply the universally valid truths of scientific socialism to the specific conditions in Romania, thus honorably fulfilling its mission and historic responsibility toward the present and future of Romania. [cheers, chants]

In honor of this congress, even nature has dispersed the clouds and today is a sunny day, which demonstrates how wonderful socialism is. [applause]

At the 14th Congress, the number of party members totals 3,831,000, that is over 431,000 more members than at the 13th Congress. It is noteworthy that between the two congresses 590,000 working people have become party members; of these 390,000, that is some 66 percent, are workers; it has to be emphasized that 80 percent of the new party members come from among the ranks of the Union of the Communist Youth and some 50 percent are women; thus the total share of women in the party amounts to almost 36 percent. Currently, of all party members 55 percent are workers, 16 percent are peasants, more than 20 percent are intellectuals and clerks, and the rest represent other categories. We can say that the party's nationality composition is in keeping with the general structure of our country's population. Thus more than 92 percent of the party members are Romanian, 6.53 percent are Romanians of Hungarian origin, 0.51 percent are Romanians of German origin, and the rest represent other nationalities.

We also have a positive age structure in the party. Thus, of the total of party members almost 20 percent are below 30 years of age, 51 percent below 50 years of age, while the rest of 21 percent are over 50 years of age.

The constant increase in the party ranks vigorously demonstrates the confidence of the workers class, of the peasantry, intellectuals, of all working people, irrespective of nationality, and of all our people in the RCP, the leading political force and the vital core of our socialist society, the vivid, patriotic, and revolutionary conscience of the whole nation. [cheers, chants]

We have a positive organizational structure. The party incorporates 59,554 basic organizations; 6,063 party committees in enterprises, institutions, and agricultural units; 2,364 communal committees; 259 town and municipal committees, and 41 county organizations, including Bucharest Municipality.

One can say that there is no socioeconomic unit or important sector of activity without powerful party organizations and without the Communists acting to rally the efforts of all working people and of all our people in implementing the programs aimed at our homeland's development and at successfully building socialism.

The affirmation of our party's leading role in society, the recognition of this by our whole people, and its sanctioning by our country's Constitution itself is the result of an objective historic process. Ever since the creation of the workers revolutionary movement in Romania and of the first workers social-democratic party in 1893 and then of the Communist Party in 1921, our party has always firmly been at the helm of the struggle for safeguarding the vital interests of the workers class, of the working people against fascism and war, for the overthrow of the old system and achieving the revolution for national and social liberation, for defending the supreme interests of the whole nation, and for ensuring our country's independence and sovereignty.

In difficult circumstances our party proved its revolutionary qualities and its capability to organize and mobilize the working people, the workers class, and other progressive forces in the struggle against the outdated system and then in the great work of building socialism.

Within this framework, too, the historic importance of the Ninth Congress decisions deserve to be mentioned, for they eliminated the negative things of the past and ensured the improvement and elevation of the party activity in accordance with the new requirements of building socialism with the people and for the people. [applause]

The party is the vital core of our nation. The party emanates a revolutionary spirit and a great impetus for our homeland's elevation and transformation, and for Romania's constant elevation to new heights of progress and civilization. The implementation of the great programs aimed at our homeland's development in the coming period requires an even greater enhancement of the leading political role of the party and the improvement of its activity in accordance with the new requirements and realities.

I do not want to refer once again to the erroneous concepts on the party's role about which I talked at the recent Central Committee plenum. It is necessary for us to constantly bear in mind that our party, as in fact any political party, has assumed in front of the people the obligation to ensure the achievement of a new social system and it has to work with great energy to honorable fulfill its commitments.

The party cannot renounce its revolutionary responsibility; it cannot leave its historic mission to another political force. To do such a thing, in fact means to renounce being a revolutionary communist party and the implementation of its program for building socialism and communism.

It is our great duty to do all we can so that, under any circumstances, our party will fulfill its mission and its historic role of building the most just and advanced social system—socialism and communism—on Romanian soil, and always ensuring the independent and free future of the Romanian people. [cheers, chants]

It has to closely cooperate with all mass organizations, with all social forces, and with the whole people, because only together and in complete unity with the whole people will it be able to fulfill its historic mission. It is necessary for us to work with all our energy toward perfecting the activity of the party bodies and organizations and toward enhancing the responsibility of the party bodies and organizations in all activities of implementing our development programs and plans.

As I have said more than once, we must constantly bear in mind that the party members have no, and cannot have, any special advantages. They only have greater obligations, the obligations of a revolutionary, of working with all their energy to implement the party program in complete unity with all working people and with all of our people. It is necessary to vigorously develop the party's internal democracy, to make sure that all decisions are broadly discussed by the entire party and reflect the creative thinking of all communists, and it is necessary for us to constantly bear in mind that along with this all decisions and the country's laws are broadly discussed with the whole people, so that they may always reflect the will of the whole nation.

We have to vigorously develop a critical and self-critical spirit in all of our activities, we must have an open, clear, and firm attitude that is against shortfalls, and we have to see to openly, and not just formally, admitting them and to working out tangible measures aimed at eliminating shortfalls and perfecting all activities.

Throughout our activities, we have to pay ever greater attention to the proper distribution of the forces and to promoting cadres characterized by a revolutionary spirit, with a firm attitude toward everything that is outdated and obsolete, and determined to boldly promote newness in all areas.

We have to ensure the application of the laws and principles regarding cadres' rotation and the constant increase in the professional, scientific-technical, and ideological standard of training in all areas.

We must continue to work to constantly strengthen the party and to admit to its ranks the most advanced working people from all fields of activity in order to constantly ensure the strengthening and youthfulness of the party and to constantly preserve its workers' and revolutionary spirit, the guarantee for commendably fulfilling the party's role of leading political force in our society and of ensuring Romania's firm progress toward the highest pinnacles of progress and civilization, toward the communist society. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in the revolutionary workers democracy an important role is played by the mass and civic organizations which organize and ensure the participation of all working people in all social and political activities. An important role is assigned to the trade unions as the broadest organizations of the working people in all areas. They have to commendably fulfill their responsibility toward the working people regarding both the proper development of activity and the production process, the improvement of the standard of professional training and of revolutionary awareness, and the steady concern with the daily social and living problems of all working people. We have to further improve and increase the role of the Union of Communist Youth and of Communist Students' Associations in educating the young people in a combative revolutionary spirit, developing their patriotic awareness and boundless devotion to the cause of socialism and communism, continuously raising the level of their professional scientific-technical training and revolutionary awareness, arming the young generation with the latest achievements of science and human knowledge in all spheres of activity, and molding the new generation in the spirit of consistent revolutionary struggle for the construction of socialism and communism, for our fatherland's progress, and for our nation's everlasting future in freedom and independence. [cheers, chants]

Likewise, the Pioneers Organization and the Fatherland's Falcons should further improve the work of educating the pioneers and all children in the spirit of revolutionary and patriotic concepts, so that they learn and keep learning and thoroughly prepare themselves to take over their future jobs in various fields, with good training and a high professional spirit in all spheres and with a combative revolutionary spirit. Let us ensure that the young people are molded in a high spirit of revolutionary work and struggle, so that they become the guarantee of our fatherland's further progress and of the fulfillment of mankind's golden dream, communism. Let us ensure that they will be dignified defenders of socialism, the fatherland, and Romania's independence. [cheers, chants]

Speaking about the activity of party organizations, of the workers revolutionary democracy, and of the mass and civic organizations, we took into consideration that in all of these organizations, women carry out their activity and play a very important role in all areas. Therefore, I would only like to emphasize that we will also continue to pay the greatest attention in the future to the act of promoting women in our whole party, state, and in socioeconomic activity, thus ensuring that women can make an increasingly greater contribution, as a part of our people, with complete rights and with complete duties and responsibilities. [applause]

All mass and civic organizations and cooperative and civic organizations should make an active contribution to the whole process of ensuring the progress of our homeland. In this respect, a particularly important role is incumbent on the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization, which has among its ranks more than 4 million working people who are not Communist Party members and who carry out their activity in trade unions and in other civic organizations and who, within the framework of this organization, want to actively participate in the whole course of developing our homeland and building socialism and communism. [applause]

The Socialist Democracy and Unity Front plays a particularly important role in the system of the workers revolutionary democracy, a broad, representative, and democratic political body, which has among its ranks the political leadership of the party and all of the civic organizations, all social categories, and all forces of our society. Thus, it expresses the unity and the aspirations of all working people, regardless of nationality, and of our whole nation and their determination to work with all their forces, under the political leadership of our Communist Party, to ensure the unflinching implementation of the programs for developing our homeland, for raising Romania to new pinnacles of progress and civilization, for strengthening the independence, sovereignty, well-being, and happiness of our whole nation. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, in the whole period of socialist construction, and particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, the ideological, theoretical, and political-educational activities of shaping the new type of man, the conscious builder of the new social system, has played a role of particular importance in raising the revolutionary awareness of the masses of people and in the whole process of successfully implementing the programs for socioeconomic development and for raising our homeland to new pinnacles of progress and civilization. We have also carried out intensive political-educational activity after the 13th RCP Congress. At the RCP Central Committee plenum on ideological and theoretical issues we widely discussed all issues and objectives of the future activity in this area, therefore I do not want to dwell on them now. Taking into consideration the importance of the decisions of the RCP Central Committee plenum on ideological issues, I propose that these decisions should be endorsed by the 14th Congress as the program of the party on ideological, theoretical, and political-educational activity, on the bases of which the programs of activity for the whole period until the next party congress should be worked out. [applause]

We should always bear in mind the great economic, social, and political changes that have taken place, both in our country and in the international arena, and the great scientific and technological discoveries and human knowledge in general. All of these require a thorough scientific and materialist-dialectical examination of the new problems, of the developmental prospects of human society, and, on this basis, the enriching of the theory of scientific socialism and of the revolutionary concept about life and the world. Our political-ideological activity should provide a scientific answer, on the basis of the revolutionary concepts about the world and life, to the new problems that have emerged in the development of socialism and to the problems of international development, and they should arm the party and all of our people with a clear concept and a scientific understanding of the ways of building socialism and ensuring our homeland's and all of mankind's progress toward communism. In all of our political and educational activity we should firmly emphasize the great successes that have been achieved in building the new system, the revolutionary force that ensures the transformation of socialism, and the fact that only socialism can ensure the truly free progress of mankind and achieving a better and more just world. In all of our political and education activity, in party education, in social education, and in mass political training we should intensify the activity of arming the party members and the working people with a revolutionary and scientific concept about the world and life, and we should offer clear prospects to the struggle for implementing the party program, for ensuring our homeland's progress, and for raising it to new peaks of progress and civilization. We should intensify the activity of forming and improving revolutionary awareness and of shaping the new kind of man, the conscious builder of socialism and communism, with great revolutionary and patriotic characteristics, with broad theoretical, scientific, and profession knowledge, and with general culture and with a militant revolutionary spirit. [applause]

Let us strongly develop the love for the homeland and for the interests of socialism and the people and the spirit of militant, internationalist solidarity with all forces that struggle for socialism, for progress, and for peace. At the same time, in all of our political and educational activity we should adopt a firm stand against various manifestations that are alien to socialism. We should most firmly fight chauvinism, nationalism, racism, anti-Semitism, and everything that belittles man and aims at sowing discord among working people and peoples. Let us fight all retrograde and backward concepts such as selfishness, the spirit of upstartness, and dishonesty. We should educate all our people, primarily the young generation, in the spirit of the ideals of justice, honesty, and socialist ethics and equity.

We should pool all forces active in the political-educational sector in order to raise the cultural and general knowledge level of all working people and the whole nation. We should further improve the content of the Song to Romania National Festival, which ensures the broad participation of the masses, primarily the young generation, in the entire activity of cultural-artistic creation, which is playing an ever more important role in developing our patriotic and revolution culture.

As is emphasized in the Central Committee plenum decisions, we should improve the activity of all bodies in charge of political-educational activity. We should create new literary works, with a high patriotic content, and new theater plays, which reflect our people's life and achievements. All of these works must be permeated by the high ideals of revolutionary and socialist humanism, so as to sow in the consciousness of the young generation and all people the feeling of love for the fatherland, socialism, the party, and the whole nation's overall interests.

The press, radio, television, and all mass information media should firmly act in the spirit of our revolutionary concept, should adopt a combative stand against negative manifestations and shortcomings in various spheres of activity, should boldly promote the new, and should generally introduce advanced experience.

All of the political-educational activity should become a strong revolutionary force, which lightens the path of all the people in their work and struggle to fulfill our socioeconomic development programs, to raise the people's material and intellectual living standard, to ceaselessly strengthen the country's sovereignty, and to unswervingly progress toward the golden dream, communism. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in the entire international activity, our party and socialist state have always begun with the premise that the dialectical unity between the domestic and foreign policy, and the successful fulfillment of our socioeconomic development programs and the socialist construction make an important contribution to developing international relations and promoting a policy of peace and cooperation among all countries in the world.

One can say that international events and the changes that have occurred in the international life fully confirmed the correctness of foreign policy assessments and orientations established by the 13th RCP Congress concerning the intensification of the struggle for disarmament, peace, and the solution of complex international issues, in the interest of all peoples and of their independence and sovereignty. A scientific analysis of the world situation shows that mankind is undergoing a period of profound revolutionary and national changes. Great shifts in the world balance of power have taken and are still taking place. One can justifiably say that there are still two diametrically opposed trends in the international life.

One the one hand, we have the strong manifestation of the imperialist and neocolonialist policy of domination and oppression, of violation of the independence and sovereignty of nations, of plundering and enriching themselves at the expense of other states, and of brutal and inadmissible interference in the domestic affairs of other nations. Life and realities strongly show that, on the international plane, the financial banking capital and the supranational monopolies have become the main form of exploitation of other nations, particularly of the developing countries. All this has led to the further widening of the socioeconomic gaps between rich and poor countries.

On the other hand, we have the ever stronger assertion of the force of the progressive and democratic movement of the peoples, who speak out and act against the imperialist and war policy and for disarmament, peace, and the free and independent development of all nations in the world. One can say that there is still a relative balance between these two trends, although the imperialist circles are intensifying their efforts to tip the balance of power in their favor, in order to consolidate their world domination.

In the development of the contemporary world, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism continues to persist and becomes even sharper; it remains a basic contradiction of our age. At the same time, the contradiction between rich and poor countries becomes more obvious and accentuated; this is a new basic contradiction of the current stage of mankind's development. To all this, one should add the class contradiction within the developed capitalist countries themselves, as well as the sharpening of certain contradictions between the developed capitalist countries.

Everybody knows—the official figures released by the developed capitalist countries themselves confirm it—that there is an ever widening gap between an ever smaller group of rich people and the large majority of the people. Unemployment is high there, with some 30-40 percent of the young people lacking jobs. The number of the poor is growing each year, as well as the number of those with no prospects for a dignified job or life. There is a housing shortage there as well as a most unfortunate increase in the number of illiterate children and youth, who are deprived of education even in the developed countries. To this, one should add the criminality and drug problems, which have acquired nationwide proportions in many countries.

The great changes wrought in their socioeconomic development have brought about great shifts in the relations between various developed capitalist countries. The economic weight of the United States among these countries has decreased considerably, while the weight of Japan, the FRG, and other countries has increased. As is well known, this has led to the exacerbation of some big contradictions between countries in that group. However, one should point out that the process of the differentiated development and change in the balance of power and socioeconomic development will continue. This is an objective law of unequal development. One can say that in the year 2000, at the beginning of the third millennium, mankind will witness new changes in the economic development of various countries, with new states, strongly developed from an economic point of view, undoubtedly emerging in the future.

This will lead to shifts in the roles played today by various countries in the process of socioeconomic development, both in the capitalist world and in the entire world in general. In this area, as in all areas, nothing is permanent. No one can hold mankind to the prevailing development level of any given country. One should properly emphasize and understand this, as this will greatly help to understand the dialectical process of shifts in the balance of force and mankind's development, and will also help to draw appropriate conclusions for a policy of cooperation that ensures a balanced development of all areas and nations in the world. In this respect, we should emphasize the sharpening of the world economic crisis, and the political and social crisis of the capitalist world and the whole world in general, which leads to the accentuation of economic and political instability.

The current serious world socioeconomic situation is also aggravated by the continuing arms race, by the production and improvement of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction, and by increases in military spending. Bearing all this mind, one can say that the world situation continues to be serious, including the fact that the threat of a new world war still exists, a war in which, undoubtedly, nuclear weapons would be used, thus leading to the destruction of the whole of humanity and of the very conditions for the existence of life on our planet. This is why the people justifiably ask: How and by what means should the serious problems of the world be solved? What action has to be taken to solve all these problems in a new way? How will the second millennium end, and how will mankind begin the third millennium? The whole development of humanity on the road of progress, freedom, and independence, as well as the achievement of disarmament, the elimination of the nuclear threat, the ensurance of lasting peace and a world without weapons and without wars depend on the answer provided to these questions and on the way action will be taken to solve these issues. [applause]

Fifty years have elapsed since the outbreak of World War II. We must never forget the conclusions of history and the fact that the policy of concessions made to Nazi Germany and the lack of unity of the antifascist, progressive, democratic forces, and of the peoples in Europe encouraged Hitlerite Germany to unleash World War II with the aim of ensuring its domination over the world; at the same time, we must never forget that the accord between Hitlerite Germany and the Soviet Union did not eliminate the threat of war.

It is well known that the whole of humanity and primarily the peoples of the Soviet Union, including our people, paid dearly, very dearly with scores of millions of human lives and with tremendous destructions in this war. Therefore, it is necessary to do everything to ensure that what happened in 1939 and 1941 should not be repeated, that the war threat is eliminated and that a lasting, just, and equitable peace be ensured for all nations in the world. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, next year we will celebrate the 45th anniversary of the end of World War II. Therefore, Romania believes that necessary measures have to be adopted to solve all unsolved problems. Primarily, it is necessary to adopt a clear and unequivocal position of condemning and canceling all accords with Hitlerite Germany by drawing practical conclusions for canceling all formulations in these accords and diktates. [applause]

It has to be seen as abnormal that 45 years after the conclusion of the war, peace treaties have not been drawn up among all states. In fact, peace has not been established in Europe. Therefore, it is necessary to move to negotiations between the states concerned to conclude peace treaties and to completely eliminate the consequences of World War II. And in order to answer possible questions in advance, I want to say clearly that Romania believes that this must not lead to changes in Europe and that the existence of the two German states has to continue to be a reality of Europe today and tomorrow. [applause]

We view all these actions of particular importance for consolidating peace and cooperation, for strengthening trust, and for ensuring real progress on problems of disarmament in order to ensure lasting peace in Europe and throughout the world. I am emphasizing all this because it is necessary that now, when in Europe once again revanchist and neo-Nazi forces are being reactivated, a firm position be adopted to restrict their activity and by no means proceed along the road of concessions in the name of the so-called freedom of expressing views. There can be no freedom for revanchists, for fascists, and for those who plot a new redivision of the world and who endanger the very existence of the human society and of life on our planet. Freedom must be guaranteed for the peoples, as must independence and their right to freely chose their development, without any outside interference. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in its overall international policy, including the period between the 13th RCP Congress and up to now, Romania has firmly worked to develop relations with all states in the world, irrespective of social system. We have worked under all circumstances toward disarmament, toward solving disputes between states by negotiations, and supporting the national liberation struggle and peoples' struggle for independence and sovereignty. One can say that there have not been more important problems in the world without Romania participating—in one form or another—in solving them and without making an active contribution to the cause of peace and cooperation among all nations in the world.

As a result of its policy of cooperation and peace with all states in the world, Romania today maintains diplomatic, economic, and other relations with 155 countries and is firmly working toward broad economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation. We place the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference, mutual advantage, and respect for each people's right to choose its socioeconomic development road independently and without any outside interference at the basis of relations with all countries in the world and we work firmly toward their reassertion. [applause]

We have always worked toward and we pay particular attention to expanding relations with all socialist countries and to strengthening unity and solidarity among them, both in their socialist construction and in the struggle for solving the serious world problems.

We have also paid particular attention to and we will continue to expand relations with the developing countries, with the small and medium-sized countries, and with the nonaligned countries in the belief that this is a requirement of the struggle for the free development of each people and for defending the independence and sovereignty of all nations.

We have developed and will also work toward expanding relations with the developed capitalist countries, and with all states in the world in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

We believe that the current world situation, and the existence in the world of certain groups of countries with a different social system, which will continue for a long time, will require, as an objective necessity, the development of equal cooperation among all states in the world, irrespective of social system. This is in keeping with the interests of all peoples in the world and in keeping with a new policy and thinking of genuine equality of rights in the international arena. [applause]

Esteemed Comrades, proceeding from the serious situation and from the existence of tremendous stocks of nuclear and chemical weapons, and other weapons of mass destruction, we believe that the basic problem of our era is achieving disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and completely eliminating all nuclear weapons by the year 2000, as the Soviet Union has proposed. We believe that all peoples, state and government leaders have to work with great responsibility to eliminate the nuclear threat and to ensure the supreme right of people and nations, the right to life, to peace, and to freedom and independence. [applause]

True, certain steps in the direction of disarmament have been taken through the Soviet-American accord on intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. At this point negotiations are under way to reduce conventional weapons; however, we have to tell peoples the truth. The threat of a nuclear war continues and is even sharpened. On what basis do I make this statement? Nuclear testing continues, new nuclear weapons are being manufactured, and action is being taken toward perfecting existing ones.

The NATO countries' decision on modernizing short-range nuclear and tactical weapons is well known; this will increase their destructive potential several times over. Under such circumstances, one cannot speak about a firm, realistic, and determined move to eliminate nuclear weapons.

The negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on a 50 percent cut in strategic nuclear weapons are very important. However, one has to proceed from the need to achieve an accord on halting nuclear testing, the production of new nuclear weapons, and on setting the shortest possible period for the complete elimination of these weapons from earth. The replacement of certain nuclear weapons with more powerful ones does not eliminate the threat of a nuclear war; on the contrary, it intensifies this threat.

Romania advocates and calls on all peoples to achieve a general accord on banning any kind of nuclear tests for good and on halting the manufacture of new nuclear weapons by all states. We believe that it is necessary to renounce—both by the NATO countries and by the Warsaw Pact countries—any kind of modernization of nuclear weapons. A general accord on the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 has to be concluded.

Within this framework, Romania proposes that a general accord be concluded with the participation of all European countries on the elimination by 1995 of all nuclear weapons in Europe. [applause]

One should completely renounce the aggressive concept of the so-called nuclear deterrent or the military deterrent in general, which actually amounts to nuclear blackmail and a policy of domination and oppression of other peoples. One should clearly understand that such a concept can only entail an appropriate answer, thus leading to a greater intensification of the arms race, including the nuclear arms race. Not nuclear deterrence, but rather nuclear and total disarmament and a policy of trust, friendship, and equal cooperation among European states and all countries in the world is the right way for a new policy and thinking, which accords with the interests of all peoples in the world, regardless of social system. [cheers, chants]

I would like to point out that Romania believes that great responsibility for this rests with European countries, where the largest arsenal of nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons is stored. One should not forget that a nuclear war would lead to the destruction of all of Europe and of the very conditions for life on our continent. It is true that some scientists claim that, in the wake of a nuclear war, a few less affected peripheral areas of the world might survive, and that after several scores or hundreds of years life might resume. In view of the fact that a nuclear war, with the use of nuclear weapons, would primarily take place in Europe, we must tell our people and all European nations the truth, namely, that in the case of a world war, with the use of nuclear weapons, Europe, with all its civilization, will disappear, along with the conditions for the resumption of life on our continent for many years to come.

It is necessary to take steps to reach an agreement on the total elimination of nuclear weapons from Europe. One can make a lot of statements and talk at length about the rights of men and peoples. However, when men cease to exist, nobody will speak at all. People do not need words, but rather action to eliminate nuclear weapons from Europe, save Europe and its civilization, and ensure the life of the people and nations in Europe and throughout the world. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, it is necessary to take steps to reach agreement on eliminating chemical weapons from Europe and throughout the world. Romania also believes that responsibility should be taken by all countries participating in the Vienna negotiations to reach an early accord on reducing conventional weapons to an ever lower level. One cannot understand the position adopted by some countries which do not want to discuss the reduction of certain types of weapons of large destructive capability. We believe that everything possible should be done to proceed to a reduction in all kinds of conventional weapons, to limit the possibility of aggression against any country to a minimum, and to radically reduce military expenditures. This is in full accordance with the interests of all European nations and of all mankind, and we believe that Europe should assume responsibility for its own fate and the fate of all mankind and should work for disarmament and a world of cooperation and peace.

There is no doubt that the nuclear countries, primarily the two great nuclear powers, bear the principal responsibility for nuclear disarmament. At the same time, other states in Europe and throughout the world should actively participate in reaching appropriate agreements on the elimination of all nuclear weapons. The problem is so serious and of such great interest for all countries alike that it cannot be solved by the two great powers alone or just by a few nuclear states.

Everybody should realize that the strong development of science and technology will inevitably lead to the emergence of new states capable of producing nuclear weapons or even stronger destruction weapons. Therefore, responsible steps should be taken, before it is too late, to completely eliminate nuclear weapons and ban the production of all kinds of mass destruction weapons. Nobody should have any illusions about resorting to nuclear blackmail or to the blackmail of force in order to impose his domination or policy. History is full of lessons that should not be forgotten. Those who still think in terms of nuclear and military blackmail should realize that, in the last instance, it will rebound on themselves.

There is no doubt that one should engage in negotiations to reach acceptable agreements for all sides, including for countries that do not possess nuclear and chemical weapons and too large a military might. This requires a spirit of understanding and trust as well as acceptable concessions on both sides; I am referring to the military field. One should not question the social system in a given country or hamper the socioeconomic development of nations in any way. Everybody should properly realize that the existence of states with different social systems is an outcome of historical development, and one should pave the way for peaceful cooperation and coexistence by observing each people's right to choose its system in accordance with its wishes. Nobody can claim to have a monopoly on truth. Nobody may call on other countries and peoples to follow his system. Only by strictly observing each nation's system and each nation's right to independent development, and only by realizing that the socialist development in a large number of countries as well as the desire of other states to embark upon the socialist road is an objective law and cannot be halted by force, will one be able to promote a policy of cooperation. This cooperation can only be ensured through a policy of socioeconomic progress and cooperation and peace among all nations in the world. [cheers, chants]

I am talking about all this because we should take responsible steps to ensure our people's future and existence and bring about disarmament in Europe and throughout the world. As far as we are concerned, we are firmly convinced that the nations, through united action, can ensure the passage to a real policy of disarmament and peace on our planet. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed Comrades, it is necessary to achieve broad cooperation among all states, regardless of social system, in the spirit of the principles of the Helsinki Conference on security, disarmament, and cooperation in Europe. We believe that this is the only way in which the European nations can ensure their stronger socioeconomic development, independence, sovereignty, and well-being. There is no doubt that there are different opinions about the future course of mankind's development and cooperation. However, one should proceed from the reality of our times and from the fact that the development of independent nations and states is a reality that will last for a long time in the future. Therefore, cooperation and security in Europe should be achieved by setting out from this reality of our times.

Romania firmly speaks out for a united Europe on the basis of unswerving observance of its diverse social systems, for a Europe of broad economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation among independent and sovereign nations, which can ensure their development in accordance with their wishes, without any kind of outside interference. Our country advocates broad cooperation with all countries in the Balkans and speaks out for turning our region into an area of peace and good-neighborliness, without nuclear weapons and foreign military bases. From the rostrum of this great democratic forum of our people, we call on all Balkan countries and on certain countries in the Mediterranean basin to jointly work for broad cooperation in all fields in order to gradually eliminate various obstacles, draw closer, and strengthen the friendship and cooperation among our peoples, thus ensuring the full independence and sovereignty of each state. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed Comrades, as it has done in the past, Romania firmly speaks out for eliminating force and the threat of force from international life and solving all conflicts and contentious problems in various parts of the world through peaceful negotiations alone. We will continue to support all kinds of actions and initiatives aimed at peacefully solving conflicts in various parts of the world. In this respect, I would like to reiterate Romania's determination to do its best to contribute to a political solution of the Middle East situation and the convening of a UN-sponsored international conference, with the participation of all interested parties and the permanent Security Council members. I believe that it is in the interest of both the Palestinian State and Israel to speedily enter into negotiations, as this is the only way for a just and lasting peace. [cheers, chants]

As the head of the new Palestinian State is present here [applause], we would like to assure him of our full solidarity in the struggle for ensuring his people's independence. [cheers, chants]

In the same spirit, we express our hope that a complete agreement will be reached between Iraq and Iran as far as a renewal of peace and good neighborliness is concerned. We firmly support the Afghan people in their struggle for independence and for finding solutions to their problems through reconciliation, without any outside interference, and for the achievement of a democratic, independent, and nonaligned state of the Afghan people. [applause]

We most firmly speak out against the policy of apartheid and we believe that everything possible should be done in order to put a complete end to this policy, as soon as possible. We hail the victory of the South West African People's Organization in the Namibian election and once again we extend heartfelt congratulations and our complete solidarity in the work to achieve an independent, free, and democratic Namibia, which can ensure true freedom to its people. [applause]

We express our hope that an end will be put to the interference in domestic affairs of various countries in Central America, primarily in Nicaragua's affairs, and that the right of each nation to independently solve their problems will be observed. It is high time to be understood that the interference under various guises in the domestic affairs of other countries and attempts to impose a certain way in ensuring socioeconomic development and the development of political life should be stopped. Only by unflinchingly observing the independence and the right of each nation to choose their way of development and the system they desire can a policy of socioeconomic progress be ensured as well as cooperation and peace among all nations of the world. [applause]

Esteemed Comrades, one of the particularly serious problems of international life is the accentuation of gaps between rich and poor countries and the continuous worsening in the situation of developing countries. More than two-thirds of mankind live in various forms of underdevelopment. Developing countries annually finance, with tens of billions of dollars, the rich, developing countries. It is necessary to achieve a new economic policy based on equality and mutual advantage. One should start from the need to rapidly eliminate underdevelopment, by granting support to developed countries, with a view to achieving an individual, independent economy. This also requires finding global solutions to the problems of developing countries' foreign debts. We firmly advocate organizing an international conference, and we believe that the organization of such conference within the framework of the United Nations should be thoroughly prepared, negotiated solutions between rich and poor countries should be reached, and mutually acceptable solutions, which should firmly take into consideration the need for real solutions to the problems of underdevelopment and the achievement of a new international economic order, should be found. It is also in the interest of developed capitalist countries and of all the countries in the world to reach an agreement on the settlement of these issues as soon as possible because only in this way can conditions be created to overcome the serious problems in the world economy, to ensure the socioeconomic progress of all people, to ensure general development and cooperation, and to ensure peace throughout the world. [applause]

At the same time, also within this framework, I would like to stress the need to more markedly strengthen solidarity and cooperation among developing countries, proceeding from the fact that together they can find solutions to the serious problems of socioeconomic development, while at the same time taking concerted actions during negotiations with developed countries. In this spirit, Romania, as a socialist country that is member of the group of developing countries, will continue to expand its active cooperation with these states. We will permanently remain together, in close cooperation with developing countries, believing that Romania's and other countries' advancement itself on the path of progress is closely linked with developing solidarity with developing countries and ensuring the socioeconomic progress of these peoples and of all nations of the world. [applause]

There are many problems to be solved in the world. This, as an objective need, requires the active participation of all states, regardless of size or social system, in finding solutions to these problems. In this respect, I would like to stress the need to ensure the active participation of small and middle size countries, developing countries, and nonaligned countries in finding solutions to these problems. Likewise, we advocate a more marked increase in the role of the United Nations and international bodies, in finding solutions to the serious and complex problems, in the interest of the independence of each nation, of peace, and international cooperation. We believe that it is necessary to take into consideration the need to perfect and improve the activity and ensure a more democratic way of functioning of various United Nation bodies. Although the situation is very serious and complex, one can state, without the fear of being mistaken, that there are the necessary forces in the world that, by working in complete unity, can determine a new course for international life and can ensure disarmament, peace, and the establishment of a more just and better world. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, it is well known that, since the founding of the first socialist groups, of the Workers Social Democratic Party in 1893, and then of the Romanian Communist Party in 1921, the workers movement and the Romanian revolutionaries had secured active links with the international workers movement and with the parties of the workers class and progressive parties. The Romanian revolutionaries took part in the first Communist International that was created by Marx and Engels, they could be found on the barricades of the Paris Commune, and participated in the activity of the second International and in the activity of the third Communist International. The Romanian revolutionaries fought together with the Russian revolutionaries for the victory of the October Socialist Revolution. They were present in Spain, France, and in other countries in the struggle against fascism and for the defense of democratic freedoms. The RCP and the progressive forces in our country actively supported the national liberation movements, believing that this was a duty of solidarity with all peoples who fight for independence and for building a free life. In the past, too, and in the whole period following 23 August, including the period after the 13th RCP Congress, the RCP has actively participated in the activity of cooperation and solidarity with communist and workers parties and with all progressive forces. Taking into consideration the current international situation, the complex problems, and the great changes in the world, the RCP believes that is necessary to strengthen solidarity, cooperation, and the unity of all communist and workers parties, as an objective need aimed at their active participation in solving complex problems in the interest of socioeconomic progress, socialism, peace, and international cooperation. [applause]

It is well known that we have always firmly advocated, and continue to advocate, a new kind of unity which should exclude interference in domestic affairs, and the commanding position of some parties, based on the unflinching respect for independence and the right of each party to elaborate its political line and strategy, in accordance with the country where it carries out its activity. No doubt, one should always take into consideration the diverse ways to build socialism in socialist countries in accordance with realities prevailing in each country, and one should renounce any form of interference in domestic affairs of other parties and countries. Likewise, it should also be taken into consideration that each party, in its activity, must bear in mind the new problems and the realities prevailing in each country, in terms of national realities and socioeconomic development. No doubt all this leads to great diversity in the ways of organizing the activity of various communist and workers parties. But starting from this fact, we believe it is necessary to do everything possible to strengthen cooperation, solidarity, and the unity of the communist and workers movement in common issues.

Taking into consideration the current complex situation and the situation within the communist and workers movement, the RCP advocates the organization of meetings under various forms, including continental and regional conferences, and of an international conference, aimed at holding joint discussions about the problems confronting the entire communist and workers movement and all mankind and aimed at finding the best ways for cooperation and solidarity. The independence of each party does not exclude, but certainly requires, broad international cooperation. We are responsible before the party, the workers movement in our country and throughout the world, our people, and before all the people in the world to work for the continuous strengthening of solidarity and cooperation in all fields of activity. I emphasize once again that the RCP is ready to participate in any meeting or action aimed at strengthening solidarity and unity. [applause]

Likewise, we advocate broad cooperation by the RCP and certainly by other communist and workers parties with socialist and social democratic parties, proceeding on the bases of the need to find the way of cooperation and solidarity on common issues in mankind's development and peace. It is true that there are some differences of opinion with some socialist and social democratic parties on some issues, particularly on the issues of socialist construction. However, we believe that this should not stop active cooperation, joint discussion of the issues of peace, socioeconomic progress, and the reaching of joint conclusions on the ways of building a new social system. We have developed and we will continue to develop broad cooperation and solidarity with the national liberation movements and with government parties in countries which work for their free and independent socioeconomic development, and which speak out for peace and progress. In general, we speak out for a broad cooperation with the peace-loving political and democratic forces, regardless of social system or of political, religious, or philosophical convictions. We firmly believe that the communist and workers movement and the other political and social forces will work in increasingly greater unity to contribute to the unity of the efforts of all people in the struggle for a more just and better world, for disarmament, the elimination of nuclear danger, for a world free of weapons and wars, a world of socioeconomic progress, a world of free, independent nations, a world of friendship and equal cooperation among all peoples of the world. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, the eyes and thoughts of our entire party and people are turned on our homeland's capital; they are following with complete confidence the discussions within the high forum of the Communists on the current development of Romanian society, on prospects for socioeconomic development, and on raising our homeland to a high level as regards the development of the forces of production, of science, education, culture, and on improving the material and cultural standard of living of our whole nation. In the spirit of the discussions within the party and with the whole people, it is necessary for the congress participants to examine, with great responsibility and in a critical and self-critical spirit, the general activity of socialist construction and, in consensus with the will of the Communists and of all our people, to adopt the best decisions on Romania's resolute march forward toward new heights of progress and civilization. [cheers, chants]

The adoption of the program directive of socioeconomic development and of the long-term guidelines for Romania's entire domestic and foreign policy has to ensure the best of conditions for fulfilling the strategic targets of more vigorously strengthening the party, its unity, and its leading political role in all activities aimed at building socialism. The congress decisions have to ensure a constant improvement in the management and planning activity on the basis of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing, and the implementation of the modernization program on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology in all areas.

At the same time, we have to ensure the constant development of workers revolutionary democracy, an improvement and enhancement of the role of the bodies of workers democracy, and we have to ensure the greatest opportunities for the active participation of the workers class, of the peasantry, the intellectuals, of all social categories, and of all our people in the formulation of our domestic and foreign policy and in implementing the programs for our homeland's socioeconomic development.

Let us work with great responsibility in the discussion and adoption of all the congress' decisions that should provide clear guidelines and illuminate the road to successfully building socialism by starting from the fact that only socialism, built in accordance with the realities in our country and the will of our people, has ensured our country's progress and high development level, and only through socialism will we ensure our homeland's elevation to ever greater heights, the successful construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society, and the creation of conditions for our firm advance toward the golden dream—communism. [applause]

In the overall activity of the congress and in all our activities in general, we must always start from the fact that we have responsibilities for the present and future of our nation. Let us do all we can to constantly serve the cause of the people, which means the successful construction of socialism and communism; let us do all we can to guarantee the future generations and our nation a dignified place of well-being and happiness. [applause]

I think that you will agree with me, dear comrades, to assure all party members, all working people, irrespective of nationality, and all our people that we will work with a keen sense of responsibility for the present and future of our nation and, in the decisions which we will adopt in our future activity, we will be guided solely by the cause of the victory of socialism and communism, of constantly strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty, and of guaranteeing our people an ever higher material and cultural standard of living, well-being, and happiness. [cheers, chants]

Long live the RCP, the leading political force of our whole nation on the road to socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

Long live our people and may they develop continuously in complete freedom and independence. [cheers, chants]

May our dear homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania, rise and climb to ever greater heights of the progress of civilization. [cheers, chants]

Long live solidarity and cooperation among all socialist countries. [cheers, chants]

Long live the solidarity and unity of the communist and workers parties and cooperation with all socialist and democratic parties and forces everywhere. [cheers, chants]

May the policy of disarmament, cooperation, and peace throughout the world triumph. [cheers, chants]

LCY Message Not Read to Romanian Congress

AU2111165389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The second day of the 14th congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] has been marked by the speech of Politburo Member Elena Ceausescu. Here is a report from Bucharest by our special correspondent Dragan Petrovic:

Speaking as the first speaker at today's plenary session, Elena Ceausescu pointed out that at this moment Romania is capable of answering all topical questions of its scientific-technological development. County delegates are taking turn on the rostrum addressing highly esteemed and loved Comrade Ceausescu and Comrade Elena. All giving the same reasons, they are making uniform proposals that great hero Nicolae Ceausescu be reelected general secretary in order that the Ceausescu era can be confirmed and the golden times of the Romanian people continue. Delegates are expressing their delight with these proposals by giving ovations and chanting: Ceausescu-Heroism, Romania-Communism.

When asked by journalists whether the highest meeting of the Romanian Communists will hold a debate apart from expressing unanimity, observers reply: perhaps at the meetings of commissions where one will ask the question of the responsibility of some ministries. Involved here is primarily the Ministry of Foreign Trade, because President Ceausescu has set an extremely difficult task—to increase the exports by 50-60 percents. Under such conditions there is hardly any hope for supplies in Romania to improve in a foreseeable time, because to increase the exports by 60 percent means having to produce even more in order that something can remain for the Romanian people.

RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu received today Marko Lolic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], who is heading our delegation to the Congress. At this occasion, an invitation was presented to an RCP delegation to attend the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY.

The RCP Congress was also presented a special LCY message. This message, which the congress delegates were given no opportunity to hear, says that the LCY positively assesses reforms in individual socialist countries. It also mentions the unanimous orientation of the League of Communists toward deep economic and political reforms in Yugoslavia. In its part concerning Yugoslav-Romanian relations, the message points to the significant role our national minorities play in Romania and the Romanian nationality plays in Yugoslavia. Hence the need for a constant mutual concern for their social position and development.

Markovic Sends Congratulations to GDR's Modrow

AU2111175289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18-19 Nov 89 p 14

[Text] Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, has sent congratulations to Hans Modrow for his election as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR.

Korosec Talks With Spanish Communist Party Head

AU2111185689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 89 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Talks Between Anguita and Korosec"]

[Text] Madrid—The importance and scope of reformist processes in Central and Eastern Europe and how European leftists are adjusting themselves to these changes were central topics of the talks held in Madrid on Saturday between Julio Anguita, secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party, and Stefan Korosec, secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

They have particularly stressed the great importance of perestroyka, but not only for reformist processes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but also for the further development of relations between East and West and for the peace in the world.

It was said during the talks that what is happening today shows that one type of socialism and not the very idea of socialism has got into a deep crisis.

The position and activity of the Spanish Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia were also much talked about.

LCY Supports Changes in Socialist Countries

AU2111121789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "New Qualities of Socialism"]

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Oct—The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] assessed that the reform processes in some socialist countries are profound, far-reaching, and multifaceted. The LCY is in favor of all efforts by other countries and parties which will bring about new qualities in socialism and make it a convincing alternative able to answer the demands of the modern age. This was stated in a statement which reads:

"At its session held on Monday, 30 October, the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed some issues concerning the LCY's international cooperation, especially from the viewpoint of the preparations for the 14th LCY congress. Dusan Ckrebic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium submitted the introductory speech on this topic.

"It was assessed that the LCY's international cooperation is very broad and intensive, that it encompasses 160 progressive parties—communist, socialist, social-democratic, labor, and other parties—and movements throughout the world, and that it represents an important factor for the total foreign-political activities of the SFRY and its international position and influence. Therefore, it will be necessary for the LCY to attach prime attention to this cooperation in its future activities, to ensure that this cooperation is given an appropriate place in the system of coordinating foreign-political activities of the SFRY at the federal level, and that the public information media treat in it in the way which will suit its broader social and political importance.

"The session also discussed the current questions concerning reform processes and social trends in some socialist countries. Assessing that these changes are profound, far-reaching, and multifaceted, the LCY Central Committee Presidium confirmed the principled view that it is the right of every country and every party to make decisions about these processes in accordance with specific feature of the social situation of every individual country, and that foreign interference, proclamation of universal models, and other acts which would limit the autonomy of peoples and the workers class in deciding about their own future are unacceptable. Opting for the development of democracy and the economically more efficient and politically more attractive socialism, the LC is in favor of all efforts by other countries and parties which will bring about new qualities in socialism and make a convincing alternative able to answer the demands of the modern age.

"The LCY Central Committee Presidium endorsed the proposal of the jury for selecting the symbol, badge, and poster for the 14th LCY extraordinary congress and set the tasks concerning the work on the draft document on the transformation of the LCY at the 14th LCY extraordinary congress."

Muzevic Interviewed on Party Reform, Pluralism

AU2111152589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 89 p 7

[Davor Maric report on interview with Boris Muzevic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, reprinted from SLOBODNA DALMACIJA: "Unintelligent Rascals"—date and place not given]

[Text] I think that when it comes to political pluralism, we in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia behave as if we have our heads in the sand and we suffer all the possible consequences of this behavior. One of the reasons for this is that the League of Communists is still not able to be sufficiently radical and resolute concerning its own internal democratization, said Boris Muzevic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in an interview given to SLOBODNA DALMACIJA. We said a long time ago that society cannot democratize if there is no democratization of the League of Communists. However, this was just words, because in practical terms we are in the situation whereby the League of Communists should facilitate or even ensure that a systemic concept is realized in society—through the Constitution, the law, and a change in the role of the Socialist Alliance—which will, through the force of law, also put the League of Communists itself on a more or less equal footing in society, considering that for historical and practical reasons its monopoly will be felt for a long time. This means that there is a limit to how far the League of Communists can de-monopolize itself.

[Question] Nevertheless, some people say that this is not the time for political pluralism.

[Muzevic] This is no argument because if time can choose us then we can choose the time. It is up to us to be capable of defining the dimensions of this time. Otherwise, we will never have a suitable time for any matter.

[Question] What do you understand by the term pluralism?

[Muzevic] For me political pluralism means the inevitable acceptance and introduction into the organization of the political life of our society all elements which mean the qualitative and comprehensive democratization of the political sphere. Pluralism is not an alternative, but the superstructure and an integral part of socialist self-management.

[Question] How do you assess the practice of pluralism in our country today?

[Muzevic] I think that there are two extremes. One is the legal and less and less legitimate model of the one-party functioning of society and the other is the legitimate and semi-legal—and some people even say quite illegitimate—model of the real behavior of the trends and processes in Yugoslav society at this moment. I do not think that these two extremes should be reconciled. This is primarily a question of us in the League of Communists clarifying our view on how political pluralism would function, ensuring the separation of the party and state, saying what we mean by the de-monopolization of the League of Communists, and doing everything we can to set up an electoral system which will allow a plethora of political projects and alliances to operate legally.

[Question] Does this mean that you agree with the claim made at the plenum by Enver Sehovic that the "basic strategic question is: Will the League of Communists of Yugoslavia broadly accept the philosophy of pluralism and its civilizational and emancipatory function and stand in the front line of the struggle for its revival, or will it take a stand for a policy of gradual pluralist solutions dependent on to what extent it is compelled by social trends in the world and in our country?"

[Muzevic] Completely.

[Question] Therefore, does this mean that until the League of Communists of Yugoslavia responds to this question it will be generating the crisis?

[Muzevic] I think that the main generator of the crisis and the destruction of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and its unity is the lack of a program (regardless of the reasons), because of which quasi-programs, anti-programs, and "programs" in general are being "fabricated." All of this gives the illusion of great activity although nothing essentially changes. This is proof that the ranks of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia still contain many (too many) unintelligent members and officials who believe in the possibility of domination or even of realizing something that cannot exist. These rascals are still powerful because they strongly believe in themselves.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

The (Im)possibility of Defeat

[Question] The argument against the introduction of a multiparty system is that it could lead to an electoral victory for nonsocialist and nondemocratic forces.

[Muzevic] Theoretically, that is possible, particularly in a multiparty system. However, this should not be discussed as the only option nor should something be forcibly created that perhaps will not be able to exist. After more than 4 decades of socialist construction and the existence of one system, which in its essence and foundations is humane and democratic, and everything that the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia has created, I simply cannot believe that after all these years of living with this noble idea and practice, someone could think today that socialist ideas in Yugoslavia (regardless of how necessary it is to redefine some of its elements) could be so catastrophically or totally defeated. Perhaps that is my dogmatism, but I simply cannot accept such thinking.

1 Dec Ljubljana Serb-Montenegrin Rally Viewed

Kosovo Serbs Prepare for Rally

AU2111132089 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 14 Nov 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Final Preparations for Rally in Ljubljana"]

[Text] The Council of the Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo, at its meeting the day before yesterday [12 Nov], began its final preparations for the association's mass departure for a "rally of solidarity and rally of reality" in Ljubljana on 1 December. The council's communique from this meeting states:

"We Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo still have unshaken confidence in the Slovene people, but not in the section of the Slovene leadership which, whether consciously or not, is supporting not the Albanians but the section of the Albanian nationality which is still pursuing its anti-Serb and secessionist mission. A section of the Slovene leadership is hiding the truth about Kosovo from its own people, and its rejection of the rally shows its fear that its two-faced policies will be exposed.

"We are therefore coming to see whether the Slovene people support us or not, and to ask that this neighboring and fraternal people should come out against the policies of its own leadership. Our meeting will be a political litmus test.

"Representatives from all the towns in Serbia and Montenegro where solidarity rallies have been held, from the solidarity associations in Novi Sad, and from all the alternative movements throughout the country will also be invited to the rally. Many Albanians from Kosovo who are members of our association will also join the rally, and some of them will address the Slovene people directly."

As the communique states, the association also discussed various aspects of its activities and expressed its dissatisfaction with the elections in the province, because the old leadership chose the new one, thus ensuring the continuity of the policy based on the principle of favoring the majority [majorizmi]. The association also expressed its anger at the policy of favoring the majority that emerged from the voting at the 15th Kosovo League of Communists Conference.

Even the most recent elections let through a number of people who, from their work and behavior hitherto, do not deserve to be reelected. Their tenure of their positions will depend on their attitudes, behavior, and commitment in the future. If they continue in their work and behavior as they have up till now, we will publicly demand their dismissal from their posts. It would be better if individuals who do not enjoy or have lost the confidence the people resigned of their own accord, if they imagine that they can merely enjoy their sinecures and not solve the situation in Kosovo.

The meeting also discussed the political damage caused by euphemisms and terminological verbiage. In conclusion, the communique stated that the association demands that the term counterrevolution should not be used for events in Kosovo, because, in the new political relations in the world, the idea of revolution is connected with Bolshevism, and the term thus implies that the Albanian separatists in Kosovo are really fighting against Bolshevism and not in order to attain their final goal of forming Greater Albania and an ethnically pure Kosovo.

Slovene SAWP Opposes Meeting

LD2011230889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1642 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 20 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Slovenian Socialist Alliance, the republic's largest political organization, on Monday decisively came out against the holding of a mass rally of Kosovo Serbs and Monenegrins in Ljubljana, the capital of this northernmost Yugoslav republic.

The aim of the rally, scheduled for December 1, is to inform the Slovenians about the stands of the Serbs and Montenegrins, the minority population in Serbia's southern Kosovo province who claim they are the victims of Albanian separatist terror.

The leadeship of the Slovenian Socialist Alliance, together with the other Slovenian political organizations, said rallies are not the way for settling the Kosovo problem.

The Serbs and Montenegrins insist on holding the rally because they believe the Slovenians are insufficiently informed about their sufferings and that this is why they have too much understanding for the Albanian separatists.

Instead of holding a rally, the Serbs and Montenegrins were today offered to hold a public debate in Ljubljana on the situation in the province.

Ljubljana's daily DNEVNIK has offered two pages and Ljubljana television a special television program to enable the Serbs and Montenegrins to state their stands.

Reports from Pristina, however, are that the organization committee does not want to give up the rally. It is learned that on November 30 six special trains and scores of busses will leave for the Slovenian capital.

The committee expects between 30,000-40,000 people to gather in Ljubljana.

Ljubljana Bans Rally

LD2011232189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2218 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—Ljubljana City Secretariat for Internal Affairs has decided to ban a meeting planned for 1 December in Ljubljana by the Association for the Return of Persecuted Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija.

The following is a statement issued to this effect:

On 9 November 1989 the Ljubljana City Secretariat for Internal Affairs received a request from the Kosovo-Polje based Association for the return of Persecuted Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija in which the association announced that it would organize a peaceful protest meeting in Ljubljana on 1 December 1989. The Internal Affairs Secretariat decided that the request was incomplete, and in accordance with the law it asked the association on 13 November to amend its request.

By 20 November the Internal Affairs Secretariat received an amended request for permission to organize a public meeting, but the amended version does not however comply with any of the criteria stipulated by the law.

Like the public itself, the Internal Affairs Secretariat has been informed about numerous statements made by the association and its representatives regarding their intentions to convene a "peaceful protest meeting" in Ljubljana.

The Ljubljana City Secretariat for Internal Affairs is of the view that, in the light of the demands and public statements made by the Association for the Return of Persecuted Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija and its representatives, the "peaceful protest meeting in Ljubljana" on 1 December 1989 and the activities surrounding it would be aimed at "destroying the brotherhood and unity as well as equality of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities, fomenting national hatred and intolerance" and would, in particular, "cause violent proceedings at a public meeting and would disrupt public peace and order" (Points 2 and 5 of Article 5 of the Law on Public Meetings and Events).

In view of the fact that on the basis of information at its disposal the Ljubljana City Secretariat for Internal Affairs rightly expects the activities from points 2 and 5 of Article 5 of the Law on Public Meetings and Events to take place at the planned public meeting, it has decided to issue an order banning the announced public meeting, the statement issued by Ljubljana City Secretariat for Internal Affairs says.

Slovene Council Opposes Rally

LD2111230589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1743 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—Dusan Sinogoj, president of the Slovenia Socialist Republic Assembly Executive Council, today sent a letter to Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council [FEC] president, in which he informs Markovic that the meeting announced for 1 Dec in Ljubljana "could put into jeopardy human lives and property."

"According to the assessment of the Slovene Socialist Republic Assembly Executive Council, organization of a public meeting, which is against the decision of the competent administrative body," Sinogoj's letter to Markovic states, "could lead to a situation in which obvious breach of public order and threat to human lives and property could occur. In order to prevent such a situation in Slovenia, the executive council expects and demands that the FEC, within the framework of its legal authority, undertakes everything necessary to prevent further activity in Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province and other areas of the Serbia Socialist Republic toward organizing the meeting announced for Dec in Ljubljana."

Slovene Veterans Denounce Meeting

AU2111181589 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The annual general meeting of the Federation of Veterans Associations of Slovenia was held in Ljubljana today. The delegates adopted a number of significant resolutions concerning the implementation of the economic reform and political pluralism as an inseparable ingredient and condition for the success of the transformation of the political system and the economic reform. At the meeting of the Slovene Veterans Federation today, temperatures were raised most by the rally announced for 1 December, which has been assessed by the entire Slovene public as unacceptable and harmful.

In this connection, Bogdan Osolnik, president of the Republican Committee of the Slovene Veterans Federation, said, among other things:

[Begin Osolnik recording] Let us say frankly that because all of these activities are coming from those circles in Serbia that are now most directly under the control of the political leadership of this republic, it is obvious that nothing occurs without its knowledge. The responsibility for the campaign against Slovenia in central Belgrade media also lies with Slobodan Milosevic's team. Those who themselves rejected, in the form of an ultimatum, a peaceful and civilized dialogue between the two presidencies of Serbia and Slovenia, now obviously want to impose on Slovenia the diktat of their adherents, regardless of the consequences that this may entail.

This, of course, means dangerously fanning the fire and the passions and it reminds us veterans, in particular, more and more of the terrible, bloody interethnic strife when the old Yugoslavia broke up, a strife that we hope will never be repeated.

We demand of the Federal Executive Council to have the Social Accounting Service examine where the money comes from for travel to mass meetings of this kind and to prevent the misallocation of social funds for this purpose, especially the funds to aid the underdeveloped regions. Our delegates in the SFRY Assembly should also be informed of this, so that they may add their support by asking delegates' questions to the Federal Executive Council and its appropriate organs. [end recording]

After Osolnik's speech and the discussion, the delegates called on the SFRY Presidency to ban, in conformity with its responsibility for the situation in the country, all provocative mass marches in other republics, which includes the rally announced for 1 December in Slovenia.

Further From Veterans

LD2111231689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1813 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, November 21 (TANJUG)—The war veterans organization in Yugoslavia's Republic of Slovenia has asked the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia to stop the anti-Slovenia propaganda war in Serbia and prevent an announced rally of Serbs and Montenegrins in the Slovene capital Ljubljana, because such exhibitions could have tragic consequencs in multinational Yugoslavia.

In spite of strong reactions from the Slovene public and authorities, the Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins forced out of Yugoslavia's Kosovo Province has called a mass rally in Ljubljana on December 1. The Slovene police yesterday decided to ban the rally.

At their annual assembly today the Slovene veterans decided to uphold a "left coalition" at next Slovene elections at which the newly-formed Slovene political groups will, for the first time, put up their candidates and election lists. Veterans believe that a provision stating that citizens vote for the candidates individually and not for the lists in their entirety, should be introduced into the new election law of the republic.

The Slovene youth organization, however, today strongly protested against the decision by the republic's mass political organization, the Socialist Alliance, that the election law include a provision for candidates to be elected to the republican assembly individually, regardless on what list are they on.

Young Slovenes, who favour a possibility of voting for the lists, individually or in both versions, have threatened to boycott next elections and bring a law suit to the constitutional court of Slovenia for what they have called a breach of compromise recently reached by the republic's old and new political parties in the Slovene Assembly.

Slovene Officials Deny Kosovo Agents Presence

AU2011082989

[Editorial report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 7 and 8 November carries official denials and corrections to the allegation that agents of the State Security Service of Kosovo were active in Slovenia, as stated by the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights in Kosovo in DELO on 6 November.

On 7 November on page 2, DELO carries a 300-word statement issued by the Slovene Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs on 6 November, denying the alleged case in Litija and stating that "we have established that for the time being there are no elements of evidence confirming" any presence of Kosovo Security Service agents in Slovenia. The statement ends:

"In this connection we would like to draw attention to Section 1, Article 228 of the Criminal Code of Slovenia which says: 'He who voices or spreads false reports or assertions, with which he causes or is likely to cause grave disaffection or alarm among citizens, or who endangers or is likely to endanger public peace and order, or who voices or spreads such assertions with the intention of to prevent the execution of the decisions or measures by state or self-managing organs, shall be punished with up to 3 years imprisonment.'"

On 8 November on page 2, DELO carries a 300-word statement by the Slovene Republican Secretariat for Judicature and Administration dated 7 November, denying that any agents of the Kosovo State Security Service slept at the Dob Penal Rehabilitation Center.

Underneath this statement, Marko Pecauer in a 400-word article refers to the 6 November statement by the Slovene Secretariat for Internal Affairs and draws attention to the fact that Article 228 of the Slovene Criminal Code was rescinded by Amendments to the Criminal Code adopted by the Slovene Assembly on 27 September and published in the Official Gazette on 11 October 1989.

The following "Correction" signed by "Ivan Jakic, adviser to the Republican Secretary" appears below this article:

"In my statement to the public connected with the announcement by the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights in Kosovo about the alleged actions in Slovenia by agents of the State Security Service of Kosovo, I erroneously cited the provision of Article 228 of the Criminal Code of Slovenia (spreading of false rumors) that ceased to apply as of 19 October 1989, instead of citing the provisions of Section 2, Article 10 of the Law on Infringements of Public Peace and Order (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 16/1974 as amended in No. 15/1976 and 42/1986).

"The intention of the warning of course remains the same."

Kosovo Serbs Hold Protest Meeting in Urosevac

AU2111122489 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 16 Nov 89 p 7

[R.R. report: "Criticism of Former Communal Leaders"]

[Text] Urosevac, 15 Nov—More than 500 members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities gathered this evening in the hall of the Urosevac Communal Assembly in order to express their open protest not only against nationalist and separatist activity, but against what the meeting called the support from Slovenia and Croatia for these destructive activities. Participants in the meeting leveled serious criticism and accusations against the present Slovene and Croatian leaderships and the most distinguished leaders of these federal republics. The activities of former communal and provincial leaders were also strongly condemned at the meeting, and it was claimed that these people contributed to the counterrevolution in Kosovo by clinging to their posts. Strict political differentiation was called for in all spheres of life, especially in education, because, it was said, it is the teachers who are poisoning and indoctrinating the younger generation. Speakers therefore insisted that all teachers who have not committed themselves to the policy of stabilization should be dismissed. There was also strong criticism of the managers of the economy in Urosevac, and it was said that they were prominent in organizing the gatherings of last November and the February strikes, and that they nevertheless still enjoy their privileges in their collectives. It was said that those Albanians who have committed themselves to the common struggle for Serbia and against Albanian nationalism and separatism must especially be involved in the front for unity, and there were therefore demands that Skender Zeqiri, former manager of the forestry combine, should be promoted to a leading position in Urosevac, because he had contributed to the constitutional changes in Serbia.

Representatives of political and social life in Urosevac and provincial and republican activists allocated to follow activities in this commune also took part in the protest meeting. Dragan Pajic, executive secretary of the Serbian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee, spoke about the Serbian LC's work for economic and political stabilization, the constitutional changes, and to carry out ideopolitical differentiation in the commune, because, as he said, there are many nationalist and separatist forces in this very area who have found support among the management bodies of the largest collectives. He mentioned the former manager of the tube factory as having led the organization of the workers' demonstrations and who nevertheless was promoted to another collective in the province. He voiced the great discontent of the many participants over the failure to identify the culprit of the attack on Vlado Milovanovic, and called the investigative organs to account.

The gathering also demanded the removal from the hall of the crew from Zagreb Television because, as some people said, they were dissatisfied with the approach of the media from Croatia and Slovenia. However, on the insistence of the meeting's chairman, the television crew were allowed to follow the meeting, because, as the organizer said, the meeting was open to everybody.

Lazaroski Speaks at Meeting With Serbs

AU2011100589

[Editorial report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 21-22, 23, and 24 October carries in three installments a report by D. N. from Skopje, dated 20 October under the banner "What Jakov Lazaroski Said at the Meeting of Macedonian and Serbian Leaderships on 17 July This Year," which includes shorthand notes of the speech Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Macedonia, made at this meeting of Macedonian and Serbian leaderships and his replies to other participants at the session, but does not include anything about other speakers.

In an introduction to the shorthand notes, D. N. says that one can conclude from these notes that Lazaroski was the third speaker, following Jezdimir Bogdanski, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. He said that when he asked whether other speeches would be published he was told that this depended on whether the speakers themselves would agree to it.

BORBA on 21-22 October carries on page 14 the 2,000-word first installment of the shorthand notes in which Lazaroski speaks about "current questions concerning the relations between the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia," saying that "in the context of some unpleasant events concerning the aggravating interethnic relations, some current questions which are being asked and which concern relations between the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia acquire a completely different dimension. You know, there has recently been much upset and concern in the Macedonian public about some questions which, it is true, concern the past, but still bear significant political implications on present and future times. Some of these questions concern the Macedonian people's historical and national identity. Many of these questions were asked before, during the talks we held in the past. About some of them that have now become very topical we talked during the first talks between Macedonian and Serbian leaderships in November 1986. Meanwhile, some of these questions have remained in the same state and become topical again and have done so in a way that cannot be called the best.

"We can proceed from the question of the status of the memorial museum of the first ASNOM [Anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation of Macedonia] meeting at the Prohor Pcinjski Monastery where the foundations of the Macedonian state were laid. At that time we talked about the issue and agreed that there would be no problem about using the place where the ASNOM memorial museum was situated. This year, however, over a lengthy period the issue was becoming so complicated that it has become a reason for an impression throughout Yugoslavia that there is an anti-Serb feeling in Macedonia and an anti-Macedonian feeling in Serbia."

Further on, Lazaroski speaks about another contentious issue, the Law on Colonists, and says the following: "One should recall the fact that the decree on colonizing the southern or, as it was put at that time, 'new regions' in Macedonia was adopted on 24 September 1920. This unjust treatment of Macedonian peasants started then. They had no right to have any land outside their places of residence, and that land was given to colonists, gendarmes who settled here and served as the main stronghold of the Serbian bourgeoisie's policy of denationalization and assimilation. They used to be tools for destroying everything that was Macedonian. This started with that injustice toward Macedonian peasants and one should keep that in mind when talking about reviewing this law."

In the 2,500-word second installment in BORBA on 23 October on page 6, among other things Lazaroski speaks about Yugoslav official policy concerning the treatment of Macedonian citizens abroad and says the following: "Our citizens are mistreated very much in Greece and Bulgaria and we have never taken reciprocal measures, because we have always thought that cooperation should develop at the highest possible level and concerning all relations. Our conduct and our programs have always followed this idea. However, we have always reacted (according to our citizens, not sufficiently) when comrades in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs have shown insufficient commitment to solving problems connected with the Macedonian minority and the attitude of Greece and Bulgaria toward Macedonia because we always thought that one must not allow manipulations with the so-called Macedonian policy, that is Skopje policy, as Greeks and Bulgarians call it.

"At the session of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, I also spoke about these manipulations, demands of the federal organs to 'calm down' Skopje and prevent it from asking such questions. This is why we always react when somebody mentions traditionally good relations between Serbia and Greece, because good relations must be founded on present relations and one must pay attention about overall relations. The way they behave toward Macedonia means an attack against the integrity of the entire SFRY."

Later on in the text, Lazaroski says that "one must observe the events about Prohor Pcinjski Monastery, the Law on Colonists, and the reaction in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia about Comrade Milosevic's speech at Gazi Mestan." Further on, Lazaroski returns to the topic and says the following: "When I mentioned Comrade Milosevic's speech and reactions in Macedonia, I meant that sentence where you said that 'Serbs have never occupied or exploited anybody.' This is why I spoke about the situation before the Balkan wars and during World War I. Of course, Serbs, the Serbian people can never be connected with what Serb bourgeoisie and later, after 1918, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia did threatening Macedonian integrity."

BORBA on 24 October on page 2 carries the 1,500-word third and last installment of Lazaroski statement, which includes his replies to questions he was asked at the meeting. Since the shorthand notes include only Lazaroski's statement, neither questions nor the people who asked them are identified. Speaking on Albanian nationalism in Macedonia, Lazaroski says that "the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists in Macedonia determines the sociopolitical situation and remains its main negative factor." He adds that they "talked much about these problems during the talks with Slovene comrades (we had gone there at the initiative of the League of Communists of Slovenia to have party talks). I feel the need to tell you this about our understanding of the *Kosovo drama*, because I know about their views on individual aspects of that issue. I personally spoke about